THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Catholic on School Aid

Thomas J. O'Toole

The Duality of Soviet Aims

Louis J. Halle

Make-Believe by Mitford

Honor Tracy

On Automation

Alvin H. Hansen

April 10, 1961, :

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

What Shocking Enterprise

★ We see college basketball has another scandal. Instead of competing, some of the scholars have been score-fixing again. Coaches and college presidents are naturally shocked. How can you run good clean commercialized sport, they ask, if you can't trust an athletic scholarship? Here again there is that haunting sense of familiarity. Yes, it was the vice presidents of the electrical manufacturers who rigged bids while top management knew nothing about it, they were as clean as an Eisenhower hound's tooth. American youth catches on very quickly.

Disassociation of responsibility is one of the myths of modern business. When you stop to think of it, there is a lot of make-believe in industrial life, perhaps that is what gives it glamor for practical, pragmatic men. That ruling of the Supreme Court in the 1880's, for example, that a corporation is a "person" under the meaning of the 14th Amendment – what a charming fantasy! Westinghouse Electric, doing $2 billion annual business makes a benign affluent "person," and so does old grandpop General Electric, whose shares have paper value of $60 billion.

Sure as the green mist of spring fills the Washington trees comes the annual love call of corporations to their stockholders. Hey to be in Wilmington now proxy time is here! Sign the inclosed stamped return envelopes; proxies not returned will be voted by management. Who says big corporations aren't "persons"? Their invitations are positively chummy; bring your proxy for 50 shares and you will be treated with the same respect as the representative of Chase-Manhattan Bank and be served the same free coffee. This elfin mood of General Electric and Westinghouse may not fully satisfy some stockholders however. They have taken a beating in the sequel to the conspiracy convictions. Dow-Jones industrial stock averages have been climbing but not that of the electrical manufacturers. Stock of GE fell from a high of 99 in 1960 to 65 last week; Westinghouse from 65 to 44. But don't blame the management! They didn't know price rigging was going on.

Some day, we guess, our control of corporations will be a little tighter. They are becoming so big and powerful as to warrant a quasi-governmental status with the kind of supervision applied to other federal agencies. In a 1957 pamphlet, "Economic Power and Free Society," Adolf Berle calculated that the top 150 US corporate giants now control about half of *all* the assets of American manufacturing. He figured that 500 corporations control about two-thirds of the nation's *entire* productive industry; also, that within each of the 500 giants a still smaller elite has ultimate power of decision.

"This is, I think," wrote Berle, "the highest concentration of economic power in recorded history." It made the old feudal system, he added, look like a Sunday School picnic.

The Federal Trade Commission in 1954 reported that industrial giants were swallowing competitors at a rate three times that of 1949. The FTC tells me that the rate has not declined since then but has probably increased. Anyway you look at it, the compulsion of government to police big business grows, though it wasn't evident in the Eisenhower Administration.

We note with pleasure that soft-voiced Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges has quietly told the 174 top executives of the Government's Business Advisory Council, a self-perpetuating organization described as "the most exclusive club in the world," that they must either let representatives of little business join them in their periodic briefings with top government officials, and admit the press or else, well the BAC won't meet any more.

Another Washington Novel

★ We stopped reading Allen Drury's celebrated novel *Advise and Consent* at the point where the British Ambassador talks to the French Ambassador. Too rich a literary diet for us. Now a new President has come to Washington, Malcolm Christiansen, in a novel, *Not to the Swift* by Tristram Coffin, that kept us up to 3 a.m. All through it we had the haunting notion of familiarity. We have been wracking our brains over the prototype ever since.

Let's see, Christiansen began his statements, "What I mean to say is this." (Who could that be?) Reporters at the White House, it seems, took a dim view of the President's intellect and felt that he was propped up by the press secretary and Secretary of State. (True of many public figures).

He was a "warm-hearted, charming man, his face handsome, earnest and sincere." (Might be anybody). As Armageddon approached he would seek oblivion in a Zane Grey novel, and this wasn't easy because "Mr. Christiansen read slowly and even then sometimes the words were like rows of fence posts, without meaning." (Improbable, we think.) Christiansen's public addresses, however, tranquilized millions. He was a "clean, trustworthy, benevolent man – aura of good glowing about him. . . . The people adored Chris, the Crusader. They were little children whose skinned elbows and bruised hearts were forgotten when he smiled . . . their paregoric."

Well, we can't guess who it was.

And 'Round About

★ Washington cynics have dubbed the Peace Corps the "Childrens' Crusade." . . . GOP legislative leaders Dirksen and Halleck publicly support Kennedy on Laos but warn they oppose partition or letting Reds join a neutralized government – shrewd conditions that almost certainly give them a point for later attack. . . . The new anti-Communist vigilante group, "The John Birch Society" reminds us of the old rightist Liberty League of FDR's day; it's hard to take it seriously save as a symptom of rising public fear when it becomes very serious indeed; it's strange to see a man like Cardinal Cushing indorsing it. . . . The so-called "growth" issue is the big sleeper in Washington; faster national growth is a *must* for full economic recovery but President Kennedy hasn't got around to educating the public yet on what it requires.

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Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
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F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:
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"It has become customary," the President has told Congress, "to speak of American agriculture in terms of distress and failure, as a burden on the taxpayers and a depressant on the economy." Failure? The efficient farmer is the victim of his own success. Total agricultural output has been running six to eight percent ahead of the needs of domestic and foreign consumers, as reflected in the market; and hopes that the sheer growth of population here and abroad will, at some time in the future, result in a larger demand that should catch up with the oversized ability of our farmers to produce, are frustrated by the still greater speed of technological progress in agriculture. It is not as widely known as it should be, but the American farmer's increase or improvement of productivity has been running ahead at over twice (seven percent) the rate of manufacturing industry in the United States; this in spite of the impressive innovations that have been introduced into industry, including scientific management, process engineering, computer technology and automation.

The costs of upgrading farm practices and consolidating farms to fit the larger and more efficient implements that become available in new models year after year have risen sharply. At the other end of the cost-price equation, however, the market has shown a tendency to respond sluggishly because of the very volume of production that is thrown upon it. Farmers complain bitterly that they must produce more and more in order to earn the same amount of real income. In this race, the smaller farmers are left behind entirely – between 1954 and 1959 the number of farms in the US fell from 4.7 million to 3.7 million, or at the rate of 200,000 a year. But despite this decline in farm numbers, the amount given to support prices has soared. Since the end of the Korean War the budgets of the Department of Agriculture have totaled over $30 billion; and at the current rate, price support activity alone averages $3 billion yearly. It's time for a change.

The President's prescription is both radical – in the old sense of *going to the roots* – and comprehensive. Its essential ingredient is the proposal that actual drafting of production control and price support legislation for agriculture should be shifted from the Congress to the farmers directly concerned. It is strong medicine and already some are saying it will kill the patient. "The Secretary of Agriculture," Mr. Kennedy points out, "is now equipped with broad responsibilities for the maintenance of farm income. . . . He has had the authority to set and adjust the level of support prices, set the level and terms of

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loans, prescribe acreage allotments, specify conservation payments, establish marketing agreements and orders, and take other steps to adjust supplies and protect the prices and incomes of farmers. But these powers have not been fully employed in recent years; and neither are they sufficiently flexible for all contingencies." That is a fair statement of fact.

In place of this, he recommends that programs be developed for each of the major farm commodities by committees composed of representatives of the farmers who produce it, in consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture. Then each commodity program would be submitted to a referendum of the farmers affected, with approval contingent upon a two-thirds majority of the votes cast. After such approval, the Congress would have the power of exercising a veto within 60 days. If no action is taken in that period, the program would become law. This is hardly a "blank check" to farmers. The basic assumption is that if production (thus surpluses) are effectively controlled, prices will be too.

The President has anticipated objections to this procedure on the grounds that it represents a delegation of the powers of the Congress in matters of legislation. He reminds the legislature that in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act the Executive Branch was given the authority for a "tariff-by-tariff approach that could be more effectively and equitably handled there instead of in the halls of Congress. The Reorganization Act similarly shifted the initiative in that complex field to the Executive Branch. Now agriculture needs a commodity-by-commodity approach, fitting each program to the pertinent problems, initiated by the Secretary of Agriculture under Presidential direction, subject to the approval of the farmers voting in referenda and to final review by the Congress." But precedent notwithstanding the national farmer advisory committee, envisaged in the Administration's new program, will be likened to the industry committees that were authorized by the old National Industrial Recovery Act of the Hungry Thirties – an Act later found unconstitutional by a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court. The cry of "unconstitutional" will be raised again.

What counts more now, however, than theoretical debates over constitutionality is the reaction of the organized farmers, for their approval or rejection will be reflected in the legislative branch when the bills that are yet to be presented come up for a vote. Both the Farmers Union and the National Grange favor Mr. Kennedy's new departure. The Farm Bureau Federation, which claims a larger membership than both of those organizations combined, is passionately opposed.

The Republican leader in the Senate, Mr. Dirksen, has labeled it "a do-it-yourself kit for every farm commodity." It would mean, he says, that farm legislation "would be prepared outside of Congress and then submitted for ratification like a treaty or reorganization proposal." And the Republican whose leadership is generally accepted by his Party in farm matters, Senator Aiken of Vermont, warns that "if farm groups can write their own tickets, some will ask why not let labor or industrial groups do the same thing? I doubt that this year Congress would feel like yielding its prerogatives over farm legislation."

Southern Democrats in the Senate are not far behind. Senator Ellender of Louisiana, Chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee (the man who so chevied the Kennedy emergency feed grain bill) feels the proposal is "nebulous and rather complicated" and adds that he will have to study the actual legislation, which is still to be introduced, before finally making up his mind whether he can go along.

These critics have been joined by editorial writers for one of our most influential newspapers, *The New York Times*, and the largest mass-circulation magazine, *Life*. Such thunderclouds are ominous, and it is safe to predict that when the Administration's bill (scheduled for presentation later this month) appears, there will be quite a storm.

What this early crop of critics has so far failed to appreciate is that the stockpiles of farm commodities held by the government have resulted from *inadequate* actions to raise farm prices and incomes. There is every reason to believe that if this process of accumulation is not brought under control through more effective methods of limiting supply than the present system of acreage controls, production of farm commodities will continue to outrace demand so that by 1965 the annual rate of surplus accumulation will approximate 12 percent of total agricultural production – as compared with 9 percent in 1960.

The goal of the Administration is to use up this excess portion of total farm production through expanded food utilization at home and overseas, and at the same time provide that the proportion not needed (perhaps three to five percent) is not grown. In this way farm prices and incomes can be enhanced, and the buildup of government stocks halted. In time the stockpile may even be reduced to the size required for a true national security reserve, about 600 million bushels of wheat, for instance, or somewhat less than half the amount now on hand.

Is the program for developing a supply management procedure on a commodity-by-commodity basis, through the participation of the farmers directly concerned, subject to their approval in separate referenda, and to a veto in each case by the Congress before it can become law, a "do-it-yourself kit" as the critics say? In the sense that the Congress is asked to approve rather than to propose such programs, this of course is true. But because Congressmen wish to prove *they* are the farmers' only friend, are we to be prevented from trying to solve the farm problem, once and for all?

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Incentives to Invest

No people have been more given to boasting than we that everything's up to date in Kansas City. Yet the President's Economic Advisors tell us we haven't been trading in the old models for the new as rapidly as we should. The increasing age of US equipment – the average is now nine years – contrasts with the far newer productive capacities of nations that have either largely renewed their facilities (like Germany or Japan), or built rapidly from the ground up, like the Soviet Union.

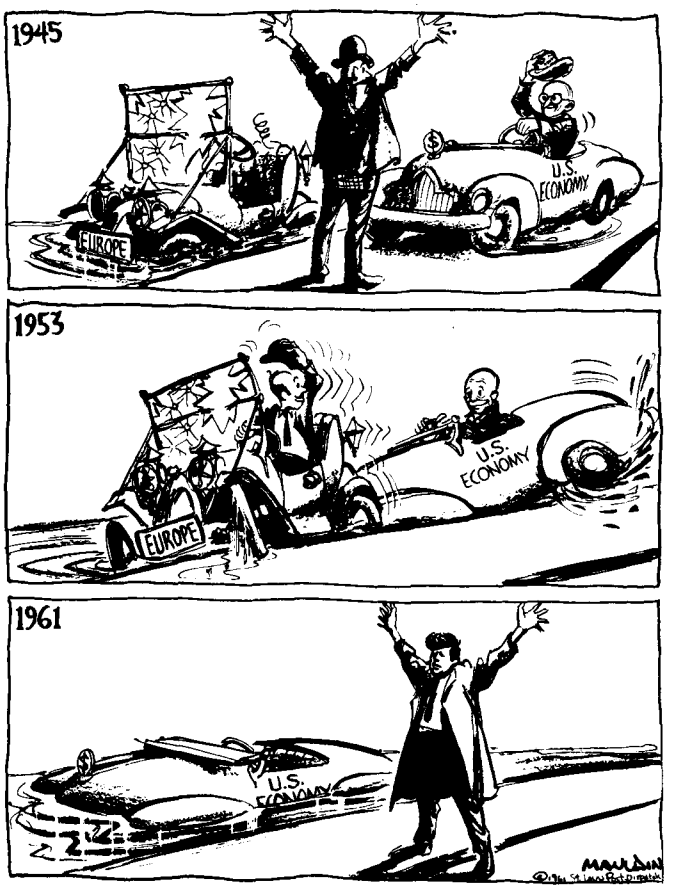
Obsolescence is doubly costly: in terms of comparative output, and in terms of the cost of production. Today, with the balance of payments moving against this country, and with so much manpower and industrial capacity lying idle, the importance of finding buyers for US commodities abroad is heightened; and that requires maintaining a price structure that permits us to be competitive in the world market.

But once this point is accepted, a variety of practical questions follow. If plant modernization and new investment are to be encouraged by the federal government through the incentive of faster tax write-offs, as suggested by the President during the campaign, what would these write-offs mean in terms of revenue to the federal Treasury? Would a major effort to spruce up the economy through new incentives to business prove also a major move to unbalance the budget? The answer is that in terms of a bird in the hand, it would; but that in terms of the revenue obtainable from the bird after it has built a new nest in the bush, it would not: the tax on income derived from the new investment would be larger, but come later.

Then, what kind of new investment should the government encourage? All? Some? Which?

Tax write-offs during World War II took place in a largely controlled economy. Companies then got materials only on a priority system; the priorities were based on somebody's judgment of what use of materials, in a tight situation, would most contribute to winning the war. The reasoning behind these incentives was that a considerable portion of what had to be built would not be useful in peacetime; the investment would be "written off" during its presumed useful life. But with the return to a more consumer-directed economy, with no shortages of materials and no government controls, what guidelines are appropriate? Do we wish an indiscriminate federal stimulation of investment? Is the only test of the worth of an investment to be any individual firm's appraisal of what an affluent society will buy? Or is it reasonable for the government to give only selective incentives so as to encourage more capital investment in those things considered to be good for the nation?

There are some things which are normally purchased only by public bodies (for example, schools or highways), but there are many more things that may be purchased by either public or private investment (such as toll roads, hospitals, low-cost housing, urban redevelopment). Would our economy pick up faster if more of the latter group were financed privately, with government participation taking the form of fast tax write-offs for private investors, rather than federal subsidies or matching funds taken from tax revenue? There is something to be said for that: the diversification of initiative might have advantages in itself, and the time consumed in negotiating government contracts would be eliminated to the advantage of more rapid recovery. Tax write-offs on investment clearly in the public interest might also channel more money and materials into areas which now come out second in the competition of an affluent marketplace.



Economic momentum might also be stimulated by limiting the time during which special tax advantages could be obtained. In Germany following the war, for example, all varieties of new investments were rapidly got under way by offering write-offs of whatever amount of retained earnings a business plowed back into business capital. The results ranged from the tremendous new steel capacity in the rebuilt Ruhr to a new truck for a coal merchant. And a phasing out of the new tax incentives in time put maximum incentive on getting new projects going as quickly as possible.

Any proposal, however, to give special favors to

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investors so as to encourage them to spend more on modernization, or on new plant or new enterprise will set off alarm bells. Labor unions, to take one illustration, are already nervous about the effects on jobs of further efficiency (*i.e.*, automation). Selective tax write-offs would invite the accusation that government is conniving to give further advantage to business; it will be charged that the Administration, which promised that it would review and plug up the loopholes, is asking for more of them!

The only relevant criterion for how far and in what way tax reform can be used to increase economic activity and help maintain a competitive position for US products is the old one of "national interest." But when the Congress gets down to defining who gets what, the "national interest" turns out to mean what each man, with an eye on his special interest, says it is.

Laos – Next Steps

"In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above-mentioned states . . ." [*Geneva Agreement, Paragraph 12, signed in July, 1954 by the UK, France, USSR, Communist China, Vietnam, the Vietminh, Cambodia and Laos.*]

Although not a signatory to the Geneva Agreement, the United States issued a unilateral "Declaration" assenting in general to the settlement and, in particular, to the critical Paragraph Twelve. But "unity" in Laos in 1954 could only have been achieved with the consent and participation of the Communist-led Pathet Lao, who were even then a well-established influence in the country. In fact, the US was not prepared to accept this. The former Ambassador in Vientiane (and later overseer of policy in Laos as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs), J. Graham Parsons, was far from committed to a neutralist government – representative of the countryside – with or without Communists. The US wanted the Pathet Lao isolated and defeated. Thus the Pathet Lao was free to fight a civil war. It was not engaged politically. And as the years of stalemate in Laos went by, the Pathet Lao played the game of the "outs" – digging in militarily in the northern provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly. It gained political supporters throughout the country as right-left factions were polarized.

Because the US did not choose to risk endorsement of a neutralist regime in which countervailing forces might have offset Pathet Lao influence, the concessions to the Communists which may have to be made today are going to be greater than the non-Communists in Laos, notably former Premier Souvanna Phouma, earlier would have had to accept; he is not likely now to be able to keep the number of Pathet Lao ministers down to two, as he did in his short-lived 1958 regime (a US-backed *coup* upset it), after the Pathet Lao won election victories in nine Assembly districts.

But the people who have the least justification for self-righteous indignation about this are the Republicans in Congress. This is especially so in the case of those GOP leaders of the old Knowland school who are personally identified with the unsuccessful anti-Communist policies which have resulted in this gain in Communist bargaining power. Yet Sen. Styles Bridges took to the Senate floor on March 29 to warn that the Administration must "make inescapably clear [that] the US position, as it develops, will be that . . . we will see to it that avowed Communists are not taken into any free neutral government in Laos." Subsequently GOP Senate Leader Everett Dirksen and House Leader Charles Halleck emerged from the weekly party meeting to say that the US should not agree to a coalition government in which the Pathet Lao are represented – in other words, *not* agree to a unified, neutral Laos – which is the President's overriding objective.

At the moment, the Republicans are not publicly ready to obstruct a settlement: when Senator Dirksen was asked whether he would prefer a war to a coalition, he quickly replied, "I don't go that far." What they apparently want is to make matters as embarrassing as possible for the President, and prepare the ground for later partisan sniping. One wonders whether they fully realize how dangerous a game this is, not only in the larger terms of the national interest but in the narrow terms of their own political self-interest. For if Laos does become a hot partisan issue, the Democrats will have no choice but to rake up the past to show who did "lose" Laos – and to ask what there is to show for the $300 million in military aid channeled in the Eisenhower Administration through the middlemen in Bangkok to the faltering anti-Communist governing group in Vientiane.

It would be regrettable if the charge of appeasement should complicate the work of US negotiators at the projected 14-nation Pnompenh Conference. The importance of ending the Laotian conflict has been underscored by the Chinese warning that US or SEATO military action in Laos would be met by Chinese forces. This means that, whether Mr. Dirksen likes it or not, the alternative to gambling on a coalition that includes but is not the captive of the Communists may well be war – and perhaps not even so limited a war as the one in Korea. If the Chinese do not accept a regime in which Souvanna Phouma would have at least an even chance to sustain a genuinely neutral government, then either partition of the country or a military showdown may become unavoidable. In that event, we all will have failed – and that includes Republicans.

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New Housing Proposals

The Administration's housing proposals, which include $3.190 billion worth of new long-term loan funds, one-third of which would be distributed by the end of June two years from now, have been constructed to fill existing gaps. They accept the generally-held view that the market for upper-middle and high income housing shows no gap at present; new lower-middle and low income units, the remodeling of outdated structures, urban renewal and public housing, and specialized types of construction (especially homes for the elderly) are the kinds whose provision would be quickened.

The bill includes $2.5 billion added authorization for loans to communities for urban renewal; federal matching funds for urban planning would be raised from $20 to $100 million, with the federal share raised from half to two-thirds of the cost.

Federal loans for public facilities – sewers, water works, municipal buildings – would be boosted $50 million from their present $150 million level.

The current $50 million loan program for housing for the elderly would be doubled; and the number of authorized new public housing units set at 100,000.

The bill contains three new departures. One is federal insurance for mortgages on low-income housing, aimed at people whose incomes are above the level at which they become eligible for public housing, but who cannot afford the terms of current FHA or VA loans. (The income levels would vary by areas; the price of the housing would fall in the $9,000-$15,000 class; for rental or sale, carrying a 5.5 percent interest rate.) Through mid-1963, insurance would be offered on mortgages in this class, with no down payment and 40 years to pay, thereby extending very widely a practice which has previously been largely confined to housing for persons displaced from redevelopment areas. This provision of no down payment and a long-term loan has been criticized on two grounds: it transfers a very large part of the risk from the lender to the government, and it decreases the likelihood of the occupier ever owning his own home; at the end of the first 10 years of payments, his equity is about 10 percent.

The federal re-insurance of 25-year loans to persons who propose to rehabilitate their property underlines the re-emergence of the second mortgage as a normal feature of the finance of housing. Originally, the FHA was established to minimize the use of the second mortgages, whose terms are normally considerably higher, and whose maturities are normally much shorter than the first mortgage. In run-down areas, most housing is already encumbered with a first mortgage, and second mortgages are hard to obtain, expensive and usually call for rapid repayment.

Another provision likely to be debated on the Hill is the one whereby FHA in the case of a defaulted loan, will pay off its insurance in cash rather than in debentures. The Veterans Administration does this now. Two objections are likely to be heard; such a procedure may have the effect of making a bad loan more valuable to the lender than a good one, since it means cash in the bank, and therefore lessen the lender's incentive to look twice (or even once) before lending. A second objection to the cash provision is that it would introduce a large "X" into Treasury calculations, for such pay-offs would constitute an unpredictable drain on cash balances in a period when its freedom of action is strictly limited by the statutory debt ceiling and by the squeeze between foreign and domestic interest rates.

Who You Are

The seven top-salaried executives jailed in the government's antitrust case against the electrical equipment industry have been released from prison – all of the 30-day sentences having been reduced by Judge Ganey for "good behavior." The last to depart, John M. Cook, a vice president of Cutler-Hammer Inc. of Milwaukee, was also the last to begin his sentence; he had been granted a delay so that he could attend his daughter's engagement party. A newspaper reporter described his exit thus: "Andrew J. White, the prison warden and Mrs. White were waiting when Cook emerged from the cell block into the prison foyer. So was Joseph Swain, Cook's attorney. As Swain tried to help Cook with his bag and the warden stood next to him, it seemed as if a house guest was departing. 'Thank you for all your courtesies and kindnesses', Cook said quietly to Warden White. White clapped him gently on the back. 'It's been a pleasure', he replied."

Mr. Cook is returning to his job with Cutler-Hammer; same salary, same authority.

The president of the Allen-Bradley Company of Milwaukee got off easier. He was given a suspended sentence by Chief Judge Ganey because his wife was ill. Or Judge Ganey might have been touched by this defendant's candor: "No one attending the gatherings was so stupid he didn't know [the meetings] were in violation of the law. But this is the only way business can be run. It is free enterprise."

On the other side of the tracks it's a different story. Take the case of the international vice president of the textile workers, Boyd E. Payton. In 1960 he was sent to prison for allegedly conspiring to damage the strike-bound Harriet and Henderson cotton mills. He was convicted largely on the testimony of one witness, who, according to the union, had been employed as an agent provocateur by the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation. The witness' record showed arrests ranging from intoxication to impersonating a police officer, stealing a police car and assault with a deadly weapon.

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Furthermore, it was said that he had a grudge against the union for it had refused to take his discharge from the Fieldcrest mills to arbitration.

Payton's trial took place in military-held Henderson, North Carolina, with a special judge, a special prosecutor and a special jury drawn from a neighboring county. It was concluded in haste and Payton was given 10 years. One difference between Mr. Payton and the president of the Allen Bradley Company of Milwaukee is that Mr. Loock confessed there had been a plot, that it was carried out, but he chalked it up to "free enterprise" and went free. Payton insisted upon his innocence and the fact that the dynamiting he was accused of plotting had never been carried out. This got him 10 years. There's another difference: Payton can't get his job back for five years after he comes out of prison because of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

John Birch Society

The John Birch Society is a national, semi-secret organization founded by a 61-year-old candy manufacturer from Massachusetts, Robert Welch, who is quoted as saying that Dwight Eisenhower, Milton Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles and the head of CIA, Allen Dulles, are or were members of the Communist underground. But, he adds, his followers are not required to agree with him about that. (Any more than every member of the Nazi Party was required to underwrite every word in *Mein Kampf*). The Society, named after a Protestant missionary killed in China in 1945 and referred to by the Society as the first victim of World War III, operates, in the words of its founder, "under completely authoritative control at all levels." At least two former presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers serve on its advisory committee. There is no public accounting either of money or of membership, although a United Press International correspondent reports that there are 28 full-time employees at headquarters and "another 35 salaried persons work around the country as coordinators of member groups, and an additional 100 persons work full or almost full-time as volunteers." It is campaigning at present for the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren, but it has broader interests – repealing the income tax, withdrawal from NATO, opposition to foreign aid and the United Nations and the social gospel. Mr. Welch believes that democracy "is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud. . . ."

The response to this Society of the two Congressional committees concerned with the preservation of American institutions has been interesting. The House Un-American Activities Committee has suddenly developed exquisite scruples. When it was requested by Representative Hiestand (Republican from California and a member of the Society) to launch an investigation which Mr. Hiestand was sure would dispel charges that the Society is a "dictatorial, fascist" organization, Chairman Francis Walters noted that the committee's legislative charter limits its inquiries to the diffusion of propaganda attacking the form of the US Government and said that he did not "see from the press reports anything this Society has done that would bring it within the purview of this Committee." The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee went further and made a positive judgment. Replying to all inquiries about the Society, a letter over the signature of Chairman Eastland reads: "The John Birch Society about which you asked, is known to be a conservative anti-Communist organization officially. We are happy to state that it seems to be, from our records, a patriotic organization."

If Mr. Welch were the drama critic of *The New Yorker* named Kenneth Tynan or a Nobel Prize winning physicist named Linus Pauling, it would be an altogether different matter.

Should one urge that the John Birch Society be investigated by some committee of Congress? From a constitutional point of view, the Congress has the power to investigate any alleged conspiracy which may be attempting to undermine or overthrow our form of government. But it should embark on this course only when it is persuaded that what it is investigating presents an ominous, evident danger. For the power to investigate in this area is only justified as a heroic measure.

Abominable (or silly, if you wish) as the John Birch Society is, it would be a rash man who would claim that it endangers the Republic. A nation in which about 70 million citizens recently voted for one of two men for President who, it is fair to assume, are equally repugnant to Mr. Welch, is not about to split apart. We have therefore to consider here not a constitutional but a prudential question. We have again to weigh the risks of letting the public deal with these eccentric movements in its own way, or in increasing the power of the Congress to inquire into the thoughts and activities of private organizations. We prefer to leave the job of exposure, investigation and judgment to public opinion, and to the press.

End of the Line

In an old converted Pretoria synagogue, pillared, panelled and galleried, beneath a lantern dome, 29 men and women, the rump of the 156 arrested at dawn four and one-half years ago, have sat day after day, listening or reading or dozing their way through the 7 million words of their trial for High Treason against the South African Government.

Events leading up to these arrests began a decade ago when the African National and South African In-

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dian Congresses jointly planned a passive resistance campaign aimed at the repeal of six discriminatory laws. In the first year 8,000 people were arrested and, refusing fines, went voluntarily to jail. There followed a succession of strikes, "stay-at-homes," bus, school and store boycotts and resistance to the removal of residents from an area of old-established freehold rights. In January, 1956, the Minister of Justice, replying to questions on widespread police raids on homes and offices, prophesied that 200 people would be arrested on charges of "treason." In December of that year 156 arrests were made. After a year-long Preparatory Examination, 91 of the 156 were committed for trial on an indictment for high treason, with alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. The Defense established by actuarial calculation that the recurrence in the indictment of "and/or" faced each accused with a possible 498,015 charges to answer. Of four indictments, only one survived.

It was originally alleged that the accused, together with 200 named "co-conspirators" and others unknown, conspired to overthrow the state by armed revolt within "our lifetime" (curiously specified by the government to be five years) and to replace it by a Communist People's Republic. As the case proceeded, increasing stress was laid on violence (or rather incitement to violence, for not one example of violence on the part of any of the accused has been provided).

It was alleged that the accused conspired to embark on extra-Parliamentary methods which they knew might or would lead to the government's using force to suppress political activity, and in the further knowledge that the masses might retaliate against police action. The adherence of the accused to this singular conspiracy was inferred from documents which denigrated the government, from speeches alleged to be violent and from mere attendance at meetings where these speeches were made.

Last week the trial came to its weary end. All the defendants were acquitted.

Lead the Follower

Pointing to the contrast between the high degree of public support evidenced by public opinion polls (*e.g.*, Gallup shows 75 percent favoring a higher minimum wage) and the opposing pressures on Congress from "powerful and well-organized interest groups," President Kennedy has expressed confidence that a favorable Congressional response to his program will be forthcoming. But as Sen. Hugh Scott (R, Pa.) has said, this Administration will need quite a bit "to stand up against the oncoming ultimate disillusionment with the 'party of the people's purse'," a disillusionment the Republicans will do nothing to dissipate. The President's biographer, James MacGregor Burns flashed a similar warning signal in last week's *New Republic*. And the defeat in the House by one vote of a watered-down minimum wage bill offers another illustration of the reluctance of a very large number of Congressmen to venture forth onto any New Frontier.

The gap between group pressures and national opinion is nothing new. It reflects and illustrates the difference between Presidential and Congressional constituencies. And that difference is what causes one to wonder whether the President's program – representing a national and primarily urban constituency – can be pushed through to victory unless the President pursues support by going beyond "practical politics," defined as operating within the Congressional system.

Patronage, meetings with party leaders, special messages, coffee hours for the Congressional rank and file – all these are "weapons" of Presidential leadership to be employed on the Washington, D.C., battleground. But no matter how friendly White House-Capitol Hill relations may be, it is the constituents to which the Congressmen are most likely to respond in the end. And persuasion aimed directly at the legislators does little to drum up enthusiasm – and mail – in the constituencies to support the President's view of national needs. To go "over the heads" of the legislators via fireside chats and other direct appeals to the public may be resented by some of the lawmakers as inconsistent with their Whig ideology of executive-legislative relationships; but if such appeals succeed in transforming the Presidential constituency into an articulate force in a majority of Congressional districts, a certain amount of emotional alienation on the part of some Congressmen would be a small price to pay.

Partnership in the Americas

Whether a more stable partnership between the American nations will evolve or whether the drift toward non-alignment in Latin America will lead to the fracturing of the hemisphere is a question to which an answer now would be premature. President Kennedy has at least defined terms for such a partnership more realistically than they have been defined lately.

Previously, a good part of US aid was in the form of military hardware and training missions, both of them a burden on faltering economies and neither of which contributed to popular enthusiasm for the "*Yanqui*." A lot of money, moreover, went into cumbersome and expensive bureaucracy, with appropriations divided among competing agencies – the State Department, the International Cooperation Administration, the Export-Import Bank, the Development Loan Fund, the Fulbright Commission, the Department of Agriculture's Surplus Food Division, etc. Much of the conse-

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quent inefficiency and confusion may be eliminated by the President's determination to set up a single foreign aid agency. Likewise programs have been handicapped by the inflexibility of year-to-year Congressional appropriations, which make long-range planning impossible in Latin America and require repetitious effort on Capitol Hill every spring. Mr. Kennedy's 10-year plan would do much to remedy this evil too.

Still more important is the President's call for social reform. In Peru, for example, the ICA's technical aid to agriculture and farm-to-market roads have so far mostly benefited the wealthy *hacendados* who own over 80 percent of the cultivated land. They have grown richer, and have neither raised wages nor paid substantially larger taxes; few of the benefits of economic growth trickle down to the desperately poor Indians whose daily diet contains only 1200-1500 calories. The new program wisely calls for reforms in land-tenure and taxation systems and expanded health and educational facilities as a prerequisite for future American help. The President's promise to encourage Latin American common markets and to consider commodity stabilization plans for such products as coffee and copper are also encouraging.

Putting these excellent principles into practice, however, will present a number of problems. Inflation, Castroism, and the recession have caused American businessmen to reduce new investment in Latin America from a 1957 peak of $1.4 billion to less than $260 million last year. The allocation by the US Government of $500 million for a special social development fund for Latin America cannot fill a gap that large, yet it is not clear how private capital can be encouraged to turn from safe European investments to riskier Latin American ventures that offer smaller yields. Moreover, many Congressmen have become opposed on principle to all foreign aid, and current economic troubles have given rise to strong protectionist sentiment. But the Latins too have become cooler.

Washington can no longer count on easy acceptance of aid terms even by the most enlightened leaders. And as for the wealthy land-owners and politicians from the ruling families in such nations as El Salvador, Peru, and Venezuela, standards of education and income for their people might seem to threaten privileges they have enjoyed for centuries; they are liable, therefore, to raise the false cry "Yanqui imperialism" against any US demand for reform.

Automation and the Welfare State

by Alvin H. Hansen

In recent hearings before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, the opinion was voiced that we are confronted not merely with the problem of cyclical recovery, but, more seriously, the stubborn fact of structural unemployment.

In none of the recent recovery peaks have we achieved a tolerable employment rate. The spread between the actual performance and full employment has been growing. Thus, while the best six months of 1957 left us with an average unemployment rate of 4.1 percent (far too high for a boom period) the best six months of 1960 registered an average rate of 5.2 percent. Similarly, the GNP fell short of our historical growth potential by $25 billion in the recession year 1954, while currently the spread between our actual performance and our potential is around $50 billion.

Even though we achieved a full *cyclical* recovery, we might still find ourselves up against structural unemployment aggregating several million workers.

Technological progress in productivity permits the discharge of 1.25 million workers per year without suffering any decline in output. Moreover, our labor force is growing at the rate of 1.25 million per year. Thus we could continue to maintain the highest level of income in our history (namely a GNP of $505 billion), yet at the same time add 2.5 million each year to the unemployment rolls on top of the current, 5.7 million unemployed.

A good *cyclical* recovery could indeed make heavy inroads on the current high unemployment. But there is a danger that the cyclical upswing may encounter a structural "ceiling" which it may be difficult to pierce.

Quite apart from the persistent dislocations which every growing community experiences as a by-product of progress, we are witnessing in the United States a deep-seated structural change far more fundamental in character than the familiar shifts away from declining industries and distressed areas. We are experiencing a

ALVIN H. HANSEN *is Littauer Professor of Political Economy, Emeritus, at Harvard University, and author of* Economic Issues of the 1960's, *among other works.*

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basic, perhaps revolutionary, decline in the relative proportion of workers engaged in the production of "material goods" compared with those employed in the "service" industries. Since 1947, there has been an *absolute* decline in the workers attached to the "material goods" sector. Never was there a society so well supplied with material goods. Yet never was there a society in which so little labor (relative to population) was employed in the production of material goods.

For our purposes let us define "labor" as equal to the workers engaged in agriculture plus wage and salary workers in non-agricultural pursuits. Let the "material goods" sector include agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and construction. Let the "services" sector include trade, finance, transportation, public utilities, personal services, miscellaneous services, and federal, state and local employment.

Formerly the overwhelming bulk of the population was engaged in the production of food. But now (omitting the marginal farms) it is said that the employment of a mere four percent of the labor force in agricultural pursuits would be more than adequate to provide all the food a nation of 180 million people can use. We are thus approaching amazingly close to complete automation in agriculture. When you get down to four percent, how much farther can you go?

With respect to industry in general, as late as 1947, 50 percent of the labor force, as defined above, was engaged in the "material goods" sector. By 1960 this had fallen to little more than two-fifths. Still, output had risen prodigiously.

In absolute figures, workers in the "material goods" sector had declined from 26,471,000 in 1947 to 25,468,000 in 1960, while workers in the "services" sector had increased from 26,837,000 to 35,637,000.

Few of us realize how little effort in modern times is devoted to "production" and how much of each day's stirring activities is devoted to "service" of one kind or another. The "producers" (as those who work in factories, farms, mines or on construction jobs used to be called) are getting fewer and fewer even in absolute terms, and shrinking very rapidly when measured as a percent of the growing labor force. Projecting the trends of the last dozen years into the future, it appears that we may have 15 years hence, 50 million wage and salary workers in the "services" sector with less than 25 million producing "material goods."

Modern society has proved itself very ingenious and inventive in the proliferation of service activities – packaging, repair and maintenance of gadgets, tons and tons of useless third-class mail, but also innumerable services that add to the comforts and conveniences of living and to a freer life. Think of the day-by-day movements of the population of our great metropolitan centers and the associated services of one kind or another, and contrast this with the immobility of populations a hundred years ago. The growth of the "services" sector is closely bound up with the growth of our standard metropolitan communities.

Private enterprise is peculiarly oriented toward the production of material goods and providing for the more conventional services such as trade and finance. And the labor force is typically best equipped for "production" jobs, though technicians are increasingly in short supply compared with operatives. To meet the "service" demands of the future, however, the demands of a high standard of culture and civilization is something else again. As we approach the stage in which two-thirds of our labor force may be available for the "services" sector, there is a great danger that "make-work" services of all kinds will be invented. A major task for the future is to praise the *quality* of our "service" wants and to train our labor force to supply that character of wants.

This calls for an educational awakening such as has not yet reached the planning stage. Education must more and more become our major "industry."

To reach this goal will be no easy matter. Yet this way lies the opening up of rewarding new job opportunities in a world in which "production" jobs are growing ever scarcer. These new jobs will spring from a vast expansion of cultural, educational, recreational and community services. All this calls for a fundamental change in social values and social priorities. It means a society that prizes schools more than compact cars, cultural centers more than parking areas.

Nevertheless, I wish to stress once again that this shift in *relative* emphasis in no way implies a neglect of worthwhile material goods, including the development of new products. There *is* an urgent need for a continuing increase in the output of material goods, especially for the lower 50 percent of our population. But this growth in material goods can and will be supplied by automation, not by increased employment.

The shift toward services has significant implications for the character of our economy. Private enterprise has proved itself amazingly efficient in the production of material goods and in the invention of new products. But it is precisely in the "services" sector of a highly-developed society that the government comes into its own and is destined to continue to play, as it already has in the past, an increasing role. The progress we shall make in the decades ahead toward a truly high standard of living will depend above all else upon the degree to which we choose to employ the vast powers of a democratic government. It will be a dual society – private enterprise in the "material goods" sector (including the *conventional* services areas); and public enterprise (including voluntary associations) in the "services" sector. More and more the trend toward a "service" society will be parallelled by the growth of the welfare state.

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Short of Perfection

Karl Jaspers says we couldn't, but Walter Millis says we could, and here is one guess that the American is right. The question, purely theoretical, that evoked the contradictory answers is this: if peace should break out all over the world tomorrow, could modern man, constituted as he is, endure it? Jaspers' "no" is recorded in a book-length examination of the modern predicament in which he says a great many other things both true and important; Millis' "yes" is in a pamphlet devoted to this one subject and issued by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California. They appeared almost simultaneously, so the presumption is that neither man knew what the other was writing.

It is doubtful, to say the least, that Millis could contend successfully with Jaspers as a logician, philosopher, or even historian; but when it comes to knowing what the commonalty, the *mobile vulgus* if you please, is like trust an old newspaperman.

Jaspers observes that man has today for the first time in history the means of exterminating his own species if not, indeed, all life on the planet; and the historical record strongly suggests that any power he possesses, he will eventually use. It is this lust of power that is the cause of war; racism, nationalism, colonialism and every other ostensible *casus belli* is merely the excuse for releasing this deep-rooted passion. It follows that peace treaties, disarmament, world government and other suggested remedies are but placebos not touching the root of the evil. Even if they should succeed in eliminating war momentarily, it would soon be revived if man – the generality, not merely an occasional Hitler or Stalin – continues to be ruled by the lust of power.

Therefore, concludes Jaspers, all the talk of palliatives is idle. Man, as he is now constituted, cannot endure permanent peace, nor will he be able to endure it until there is a change of heart in billions of individuals. Which would seem to bring the existentialist philosopher startingly close to the position of the Rev. Billy Graham.

This is rather cold comfort for those whose faith in evangelism is languid. No doubt, reform of the individual is the one sure means of transforming this world into Aquinas' City of God in which war is unthinkable, but the 20 centuries of the Christian era, to say nothing of the 50 of the Buddhist, do not suggest that it can be accomplished before the reciprocal vaporization of populations begins.

It is a relief, therefore, to turn to Millis. More hesitant than Jaspers he begins with a confession that he has no idea how war can be abolished; but he contends that if it were, its revival would not be inevitable because the lust of power could be diverted into channels that would allow it expression by other methods. Mr. Millis stops there, perhaps because a single paper read to one seminar left him too little space to develop the argument: but one suspects that he was restrained in part because, as a right-thinking American he could not be guilty of finding even a grain of consolation in the axiom that

> *The Devil finds some mischief still*
> *For idle hands to do.*

Yet it is sound American doctrine that there are greater and lesser evils and when positive good is not attainable, then to choose the lesser of two evils is good sense. If the primary cause of war, lust of power or whatever it may be, cannot be eliminated, there is a possibility that it may be diverted into activities that do not involve the extermination of the human species. The much-derided Jeffersonian faith in the perfectibility of man is in truth simply a belief that there are states of existence far short of the City of God, but still preferable to our present state, and some of these are attainable. It is certain that we did not eliminate vindictiveness from the human heart when we abolished duelling; but for all that, would any rational man send our statesmen back to the dreadful little ledge at Weehawken, where Hamilton met Burr?

The unregenerate, therefore, will find more good cheer in Millis than in Jaspers. Our proposed remedies, anti-racism, anti-nationalism, collective security, eventual disarmament, may be palliatives, treating symptoms rather than the disease. But is not war itself, according to Jaspers, a symptom of the ineradicable wickedness of mankind? Cowpox is an evil, but it is preferable to smallpox. If the ingenuity of Satan makes it sure that devilment cannot be prevented, but only diverted, still the diversion, like filial piety, may tend to make our days long in the land and postpone indefinitely the reduction of the planet Earth to a warless, but also waterless and lifeless moon.

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School Aid–A Catholic View

by Thomas J. O'Toole

Not since the days of McCarthyism has the nation been so sharply divided as it is over the issues surrounding the Administration's proposals for aid to education and the attempts being made, especially by Catholics, to enlarge those proposals. The statements of the witnesses and the exchanges between witnesses and committee members in both the Senate and the House hearings have been calm and urbane, but these hearings are the quiet center of a hurricane.

Coming on the heels of a Presidential campaign in which there were encouraging signs that religious bigotry is everywhere on the defensive and the decline, the present dispute which tends to divide persons according to their faith is regrettable even if unavoidable. Perhaps the hour has passed when one might hope that the debate be contained within constructive channels.

Behind the dubious tactics of both the proponents and the opponents of federal aid to private schools are important issues of public policy. It now appears that we can be quite sure that these real issues will not be debated. The Catholic community, even if it were to receive the proposed loans, faces a serious and impending crisis concerning its elementary and secondary schools. Some very basic decisions will soon have to be made because the pressure of numbers is outstripping the ability to build and staff schools. None of the various forms of government relief of the harried parochial school parent, nor all of them together, can avoid the necessity of some fundamental decisions calling for a new pattern for the future.

In similar fashion, there are other religious groups which are faced with painful pressures. The problems centering around the relationship between religion and education have been much litigated during the past decade, and it is worth noting that most of these lawsuits involve not parochial schools but public schools. The vestigial religious practices which Protestantism bequeathed to the public schools are still quite discernible throughout northern New England, in the Midwest, in the South and generally in the rural communities everywhere. As the tides of pluralism spread from one community to another these practices (Bible-reading, Christmas pageants, baccalaureate services and even Bible classes) come under attack. And as the schools are forced to become more nearly neutral, one can discern a rising level of dissatisfaction among many Protestants. In short, the problem of religion and education concerns the devout Protestant even as it concerns the devout Catholic, and any survey of Protestant opinion on this matter will reveal that the problem is both unsolved and acute and is widely so considered in the Protestant community.

In the entire debate, despite the tremendous volume of statements, editorials, letters to the editors and other exchanges, I sense an enormous silence, a spontaneous suppression of the rich diversity of views which must surely exist. The stage has been stolen by the groups, and individual voices are not likely to be heard. Those persons in public education who think there is something to be said for the claims of private schools risk violent censure if they speak as did Chairman Silver of the New York City Board of Education. Even on the basic question whether there should be any federal aid to education, we seem to be hearing mostly from the stereotypes. At a recent meeting of a school board in suburban Philadelphia, a member who asked whether the board favored federal aid incurred great unpopularity among his colleagues. (Although they admitted they were not in favor of it, they refused to adopt a resolution expressing their unanimous view.)

The same is true on the Catholic side. Parochial school policies have never been identical among the numerous American dioceses, and we have had a variety of opinions expressed in the past by various bishops on the question of public aid. Among American Catholic educators there has been an even greater diversity of opinion. Persons fearful of Catholic influence like to think of Catholics as "monolithic" and we do not always trouble ourselves to dispel this false image. The form which the present debate has taken, focusing only on the issue of constitutionality, makes it very difficult to evoke the range of Catholic opinion which could be found concerning the broader issues.

And thus we are in the midst of what appears to be a sectarian quarrel over a vital public question: the financing of education. I should like to emphasize that the quarrel appears to me to have become sectarian on both sides and should have been sectarian on neither. And on both sides serious errors of judgment seem to underlie both tactics and arguments. Nothing can be done here beyond suggesting the nature of some of these errors.

It has always seemed to me that there is a tendency among some Catholics to underestimate not so much

THOMAS J. O'TOOLE *is Vice Dean of the Law School and Director of the Church-State Institute at Villanova University in Pennsylvania.*

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the actual importance of public school education in America as its symbolic importance to the bulk of our people. Like the Statue of Liberty, it must not only never be threatened, but must never appear to be threatened in the slightest way. Public support of non-public schools inevitably will be viewed as a threat unless utmost precautions are taken to make it clear that an absolute priority of support for public education will be preserved. The proponents of aid to parochial schools, although putting forward a proposal so modest as certainly not to endanger public education in the slightest, did not make the assurances which are necessary. They sought to enter the temple without removing their shoes.

"Demand for Ancient Privileges"

Unfortunately the whole matter has been made to appear to be one of ecclesiastical privilege. This was bound to happen when the bishops and their official agency, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, became the leading spokesman for the proposed loans. Both in the eyes of the state and in the eyes of the Church, the right involved in the arguments for the aid is the right of the parents to educate their children. Catholic parents recognize an obligation to have the education include religious education, but the right (and the fundamental duty) to educate is that of the parents. Here both theoretical and prudential considerations combine: the proper way to present the legitimate requests of Catholic parents would have been through lay channels. It is a fact of American public life that Catholic clergymen, and especially bishops, do not yet enjoy the same freedom which other clergymen can exercise, and when they speak, old fears and hostilities color the public reaction. The request made by the bishops was received by many as an ecclesiastical demand for ancient privileges. The genuine sense of injustice and hardship which millions of Catholic parents feel was not directly heard nor, more important, were the educational needs of over five million parochial school children adequately weighed in the public forum.

The form of the request, coupled as it was with opposition to the passage of any bill aiding public schools unless private schools received some help, was bound to antagonize. This was all too easily described as a dog-in-the-manger attitude, or even as callous indifference to the common weal. Actually, the proponents of aid for private schools were faced with a painful choice. The issues had been submitted to politics and politics always raises its own necessities. While James Reston was complaining bitterly about this part of the request, his own newspaper was editorially admitting that by no other means could the private school aid be won. Yet when all this is weighed, it remains unfortunate that a more explicit balancing of the total national interest was not made in some of the Catholic statements.

This is especially true because the particular request which has been made is of rather limited value to parochial schools and to parochial school parents. While it would make more capital available at a slightly lower-than-market carrying charge, the net financial relief will be a minor element in any parochial school budget. The all-engrossing concern to settle the constitutional issue was one source of this vexing feature of the proposal.

In some of the details of the debate there have been unfortunate lapses. The claim has been made that President Kennedy had no business concerning himself with constitutionality. In any case of proposed legislation this would be contrary to our historic practice. George Washington once vetoed a measure solely because he considered it unconstitutional, and concern over such matters has always been considered a duty of all three branches of the government.

The opponents of aid to private schools are equally subject to criticism. In too many circles it has been rumored that the Catholic bishops have chosen this time to raise the aid question for the purpose of embarrassing a President who, though Catholic, is not to their liking. This absurd report, not deserving of attention but for its widely whispered circulation, overlooks the fact that this is the first time federal aid to education, but excluding aid to Church-related schools, has had a real chance to pass. The GI Bill, and its Korean sibling, and the National Defense Education Act of 1958 included aid to Church-related schools or to persons attending them. Short memories have forgotten the furore over the Barden Bill and its provision counting parochial school pupils for the purpose of allocating aid to the states, but excluding them from benefiting thereby. No, the bishops have not selected the timing of this battle; events have been running their own course. It should also be noted that these rumors reflect the persistent myth of Catholic unanimity (especially among the hierarchy) on public issues and figures.

The debate has once again revealed that the non-Catholic tends to view the parochial school as being something less than American, as "divisive." There is a general ignorance of the nature and spirit of the parochial schools and every Catholic can only wish that their fellow citizens who undertake to assess the role of the parochial school would become familiar with the facts rather than argue from an *a priori* descriptive premise. In similar fashion, many persons tend to an extreme sentimentalism about the sociology of public school life. The public high schools and junior high schools (somewhat less so the elementary schools) fall far short of the idealized picture of genuine democratic egalitarianism. I know this from experience, personal and vicarious, and most recently from dealing with

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youth groups from the public schools. This is not a criticism of the public schools but a statement of fact: divisiveness, sometimes in dangerous forms, occurs persistently in our public school life. The schools do not create this; they mirror our society. We should outgrow the naïve habit of classifying parochial and public schools as the goodies or the badies depending upon our personal predelictions.

There is another dimension to this problem. Some opponents of parochial schools express the view that only in the public schools (perhaps also the "independent" private schools) is there the kind of freedom of enquiry that is essential to true education. Even a cursory examination of the history of academic freedom in this country in the last two decades will reveal that the enormous majority of untoward incidents and of outright suppressions have occurred in public institutions. This is not simply a function of numbers: the same picture emerges at the level of university education, where public and private institutions are more nearly in balance. Again I am not blaming the public schools, for such difficulties as arise stem from the hostilities found in the community environment.

Just recently I was involved in an episode which, while not directly in point, is nevertheless revealing. The men's club of a certain church (not Roman Catholic) wished to sponsor a discussion of aid to private schools. They sought the use of the nearby public school hall, but were told that the topic was too controversial. I have been informed that unless this decision is reversed I and the two other speakers (a Jew and a Protestant) will meet the group in the hall of the nearby Catholic parochial school, whose pastor has offered hospitality.

The Orthodoxy of Secularism

To at least one Catholic the most disturbing suggestion of the entire debate was contained in an editorial of *The New Republic* on March 20. The argument was there made that "it is the mission of the state to *discourage* parochial schools." (Italics added.) The nub of the argument appeared to be a claim that parochial school education detracts from our "nationhood." By an unusual dichotomy, pluralism and American nationality are treated as polar terms. To one who has always believed that the most distinctive feature of American nationality is its pluralism, this argument sounds curiously perverted. I find it offensive to me equally as a Catholic and as an American. The editorial was disarmingly blunt, declaring "... we misunderstood the scheme if we think of the state as neutral. It is neutral in that it must prefer none of our many religions and cultural strains. But it is itself committed to exerting a secular, unifying, equalitarian force. While required impartially to accept the presence in society of sectarian influence the state is nevertheless itself a party in the contest." The idea of an impartial party to a contest mystifies me, and zealous to preserve genuine freedom, I fear to know the writer's definition of the term "the state."

This appears to be a specific example of something which is becoming a widely espoused view and I would describe it as an attempt to establish religion (the new American orthodoxy of secularism) under the guise of maintaining the disestablishment of the old orthodoxies. Admittedly it is difficult for the state to maintain a genuine neutrality, and powerful forces in our society from time to time attempt to tip the balance in one direction or the other. But when we define the state's duty as that of discouraging schools created in response to religious conscience we are not maintaining neutrality.

In the midst of all this controversy it was somewhat ironic to read an announcement that the United States Government will contribute $50,000 toward the cost of a new *private* American high school in Athens, Greece. The school is designed to service the American community in Athens, and the grant will cover over 45 percent of the total cost of construction. Although this is not a church-related school it is also not a public school. Presumably the decision to subsidize its construction was based upon practical considerations. Could we not have a similar practical approach to our domestic educational problems? Constitutional provisions must be scrupulously observed, but, as Professor Wechsler has eloquently reminded us, the constitution should be interpreted by the use not of my bias or of yours, but of neutral principles of interpretation.

In such a spirit a limited but significant range of devices for strengthening our entire educational system could be fashioned. The first priority in our richly pluralistic country should be full and generous support of the public educational system to insure the highest level of achievement. But surely our freedom will not be diminished if we explore the appropriate ways in which the contributions of private education to American life can be continued in the difficult years ahead. Is it too much to hope that we may even come to consider the ways in which there can be interchange among all the schools in the community to the betterment of each?

It seems that the real debate on federal aid to education has not been joined. Shadowboxing is occurring, with both sides doing less than justice to the magnanimity of our constitutional heritage. The real issues lie in the area of public policy, where we are free to make choices. Let us make them openly, frankly, and for reasons which we do not hesitate to proclaim. Let us account fully for the character and aspirations of our people and develop a pattern which will keep America strong and free.

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The Duality of the Soviet Challenge

by Louis J. Halle

In a simple view, every country's foreign policy addresses itself to the external situations that challenge it. However, since those external situations are in large part unknown, since only partial data and random clues to them are available, foreign policy in fact addresses itself to "estimates of the situation" rather than to the situations themselves.

To the extent that an "estimate of the situation" is false, any foreign policy based on it must be irrelevant and inadequate. A true estimate, however, depends on more than a knowledge of the available facts. It depends on the truth of the philosophy in terms of which those facts are interpreted.

Most of us are not ordinarily conscious of having recourse to any philosophy when we interpret the facts of a situation. It is a truism, however, that everyone who acts in a calculated manner, even though he is not a philosopher, acts on assumptions that represent a philosophy, however unconscious of it he may be.

To take a simple example, most of us are brought up believing that humanity is divided between the good people and the wicked. The same set of facts is interpreted one way where it relates to what we conceive to be the good people, another way when it relates to what we conceive to be the wicked. The Western Allies conducted World War II, and concluded it, on the assumption that the world was divided between "peace-loving" and "aggressor" peoples. This assumption represented a whole philosophy, never consciously formulated, by which history and human behavior was to be explained. To the extent that it was a false philosophy it led to policies that were irrelevant and inadequate. One could make the case that today we are paying the price of their irrelevance and inadequacy.

When we are concerned, then, with estimating the situation that challenges our foreign policy, we must be concerned with more than facts. We must be concerned with the philosophy by which we interpret facts.

All this is preliminary to suggesting that, in estimating the Soviet challenge, most of us are governed by a philosophy that is too simple. This is demonstrated by the debate, inside the government and in public, over the nature of that challenge. It is demonstrated, specifically, by our disposition to discuss Soviet objectives and the motives of the Soviet leaders in either-or terms. Either the Soviet Union is single-mindedly pursuing its unique objective of world revolution, or it is genuinely seeking the relaxation of international tensions by means of an agreement on the limitation of arms and the avoidance of war. The exponents of the former view pride themselves on their hard-headed realism, expressing contempt for the "wishful thinkers" who hold the latter. The exponents of the latter say, for their part, that those who hold the former are incapable of flexibility, stuck with a theory that commits them never to recognize change.

Most thoughtful persons will be aware that there is something wrong with such either-or extremism in estimating the situation. What I am concerned with here, however, is to find a philosophical basis for making estimates that merit a greater confidence.

I suggest that such a basis may be found in a philosophy according to which every situation is of necessity ambiguous, its ambiguity arising from the conflict of two mutually contradictory tendencies. A century and a half ago, such a philosophy was formulated by Hegel. Every society, according to Hegel, is always in a state of inner contradiction as a consequence of opposing tendencies that he identified as "thesis" and "antithesis." The evolution of the society tends always to the resolution of the conflict between the two, such a resolution taking the form of what he called a "synthesis." The "synthesis" then becomes a new "thesis" to which opposition arises in the form of a new "antithesis"; and so the process of evolution continues until the ultimate goal of society is at last fully realized.

The duality which this view represents is immensely helpful in making "estimates of the situation." For there can be no doubt that every society, no matter how monolithic and unchanging it may appear to be, is always in a state of inner contradiction, of inner conflict, of consequent ambiguity. It is plausible, moreover, that the drive to resolve its inner contributions accounts for the constant evolution of every society. What dualistic thinking enables us to do is to grasp the broad essentials of a situation, avoiding the unreality of a view in which every society is conceived to represent one tendency only.

How do we apply this dualism to the present Soviet challenge?

At its birth in October, 1917, the Soviet society had, in theory, a single external objective, that of world

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Louis J. Halle, *a frequent contributor to* The New Republic, *was a member of the State Department Policy Planning Staff until 1954. At present he is a professor at the Institute of Higher International Studies at Geneva, Switzerland.*

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revolution. This objective has never been abandoned. By the original terms of this objective, there could never be any relations except those of total conflict with the non-Communist world. There could be no associations with the non-Communist world involving bonds of good faith or mutual obligation. Any apparent associations of the sort would represent, essentially, tactical deceptions resorted to as devices of political warfare, entailing no real obligations, temporary and expedient in nature, designed to meet passing emergencies or to sow confusion. Strategically, the conflict between the two worlds was total, however limited it might be in tactics at any particular moment.

The totality of the objective, and of the conflict that it entailed, implied total military conflict at some stage. The men who founded the Soviet state did not shrink from this implication. On the contrary, they even welcomed it as a means of finally realizing the single great objective. They were willing to pay the price.

Since 1917, however, the price of total military conflict has risen in ways that Lenin and Trotsky did not anticipate. The development of military technology has reduced the chances that any party to such a conflict might emerge as a clear victor with the option of transforming the world into a livable habitat according to his lights. The survivors of such a conflict, digging for roots and breathing a poisoned atmosphere, might not only have forgotten the civilization that the Communists had intended to revolutionize. They might have forgotten, as well, the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

In any case, as it has succeeded in its own self-development, the Soviet society has come to have more to lose by such a war than it had in 1917. Its avoidance, therefore, has come to be an increasingly important objective of its policy.

Here we have the principal contradiction that poses a dilemma for the Soviet leadership today. An active and single-minded pursuit of the objective of world revolution entails a danger of major war that is incompatible with the objective (to put it in its simplest terms) of survival.

Internal Contradictions

Like every society at all times, then, the Soviet society today is in a condition of dilemma that involves its policy in ambiguity. It does not help us to estimate such a situation realistically if the assumption on which we base our thinking is that the situation represents a consistency which requires it to be either one thing or another. I venture to suggest that Mr. Khrushchev himself, being human, has not resolved the contradiction in his own mind. He may think one way on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, a slightly different way on Tuesdays and Thursdays. In fact, the chief advantage of his political virtuosity may be simply in enabling him to live with the contradiction from day to day – pending what Hegel would have called an eventual "synthesis."

What form might such a "synthesis" take?

The Soviet society has faced contradictions like this before. One such contradiction was that between Communist internationalism, in theory, and the fact of nationalistic societies – including the Russian. The revolutionaries of 1917 proclaimed the imminent dissolution of all nation-states and the establishment of the workers' brotherhood around the world. Trotsky took charge of Russia's foreign relations simply to wind them up, since henceforth there would be no such thing as foreign relations or as international relations.

The Communist Fathers had been wrong, however, in believing that "the working men have no country." Working men everywhere have, in the great tests, shown themselves to be more nationalistic than revolutionary. The expected world revolution did not take place and for a generation the revolution did not even spread beyond the boundaries of the established Russian state. When it did take place in China, at last, the result was not to erase the boundary between Russia and China, as it should have been in theory. Both countries continued to exist as sovereign national states, and the implications of a continuance of the traditional rivalry between them were clear from the beginning.

Such resolution of this contradiction as has taken place, initially under Stalin's rubric of "socialism in one country," has been in favor of circumstances as the revolutionary leaders belatedly found them, and at the expense of the original theoretical concepts which the circumstances contradicted. The Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia and Albania all show, today, how International Communism has given way to National Communism.

If we in the West keep up our strength, we shall see that the present contradiction in Soviet thinking, between world revolution and the avoidance of war, will also be resolved in favor of circumstances as they are, and at the price of the original Communist theory. But the resolution will take time, and meanwhile life will be dangerous for all of us.

So much for a brief example of how a dualistic philosophy enables us to form a more realistic estimate of the situation that challenges our foreign policy.

Such a philosophy also enables us to respond more adequately to the challenge. It allows us to accept the fact that contradiction, ambiguity and consequent dilemma are our lot as well; and, accepting the fact, to conduct ourselves accordingly. In the light of such a philosophy we shall not allow ourselves, for example, to believe that we must once and for all make a choice between the ideals of 1776 and the requirements of survival in the 1960's. We shall not allow ourselves to

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believe that we must make an either-or choice between our NATO allies and the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. We shall not allow ourselves to believe that we must choose between a "hard line" and a "soft line" toward the Soviet Union.

Having taken the Soviet challenge as the example of dualism in estimating the situation, we may conclude with our own response to that challenge as an example of dualism in developing one's foreign policy. In dualistic terms, we accept the fact that our policy must have a certain ambiguity of its own, favorable to the one aspect of our opponent's situation, unfavorable to the other and opposed aspect. It must be positive with respect to those forces in the Soviet Union that aim at reducing the danger of war, and negative with respect to those forces that aim at world revolution.

This means that our policy must be that of the gentle knight, strong but conciliatory (rather than Mr. Dulles' policy of the blustering weakling). It must be a policy of keeping up our strength and determination to hold our own while maintaining a conspicuous willingness to cooperate with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in reducing the danger of war.

Such dualistic thinking as this will not appeal to those whose minds require the simplicity of absolute solutions based on absolute responses to absolute challenges. Throughout history, however, absolutism of this sort has repeatedly led to disaster because it does not fit the reality of a world that, while it continues to evolve, remains inherently ambiguous. Intelligence in dealing with its challenges depends on the recognition of this ambiguity.

Herbert Croly, Democratic Nationalist

by Charles Forcey

"There will be just you three and I," wrote Theodore Roosevelt to Herbert Croly in November, 1914. The former President was asking Croly, Walter Weyl and Walter Lippmann for dinner and the night at his Oyster Bay home. On the appointed evening, the conversation between the politicians and the three political writers flowed easily. They sat comfortably around the great hearth of the "Trophy Room," where for years Roosevelt had entertained an odd assortment of sportsmen, writers, artists and politicians.

The Colonel, as always, dominated the talk, for he had the prestige of power, plus erudition and enthusiasm to match any of the others. Croly filled a quieter role, interjecting a diffident remark only where some turn of the discussion particularly stirred him. Weyl played his favorite part as conversational catalyst, now volubly outlining a theme for discussion, now quizzically listening, waiting for some chance to crystallize the argument with a phrase or quip. Lippmann, cherubically brilliant at 25, could hardly have restrained his formidably didactic mind from now and then setting the others straight. Years later he still remembered how well it had all gone, with "Roosevelt fresh as a daisy at two in the morning, Walter Weyl as alert as ever and Croly dozing in his chair."

The four men had much to talk about. Just two weeks before, Croly, Weyl and Lippmann had started publishing a strongly pro-Roosevelt journal of opinion, *The New Republic*. The second issue of the magazine a few days earlier had tried to show how Roosevelt's strong hand in the Presidency would have accomplished far more than had Woodrow Wilson's "timid neutrality" toward the war then raging in Europe. Roosevelt himself had just written a laudatory review of Croly's and Lippmann's most recent books, wherein they had carried further their long search for a coherent progressive philosophy. *The New Republic* and its editors were "in high favor with the Colonel. . . ."

Yet, for all the amiability of their 1914 meeting, the publicists and the progressive leader were near a crisis in their relationship. The alarums of the war in Europe, the perils of Roosevelt's own political position, the evident decline of progressive sentiment in the recent Congressional election, all were having an effect on the politician. Excited by the war, vitriolically critical of Wilson, fighting desperately to maintain his own influence in American politics, the Colonel had less patience than usual with the theories and distinctions of his philosophical friends.

The crisis came a month after the Oyster Bay gath-

This sketch of The New Republic's *first editor is adapted from a chapter of* The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann, and the Progressive Era, 1900-1925 *by Charles Forcey,* ©1961 *by Charles Forcey. Reprinted by permission of the Oxford University Press.* MR. FORCEY *is Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University.*

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ering, when *The New Republic* criticized one of Roosevelt's more intemperate attacks on Wilsonian policy. For the politician, the magazine's plea for fairness was too much. Charging the editors bitterly with "disloyalty," Roosevelt ended his cordial relations with the intellectuals.

Such a rupture with a chosen leader was a critical hazard of the role Croly, Weyl and Lippmann chose to play in the nation's life. Living in a day when intellectuals had more to say in the land than usual, the three publicists hovered like moths on the flaming edges of power. Though writers, theorists, journalists first of all, they also sought a more direct influence than their published words could bring. But more than once they were to come away from the bright light of power both chastened and charred.

The mantle of renown sits strangely on Croly. He had little of the public charm of men like William Allen White or Lincoln Steffens. Of moderate height, slight of stature, Croly looked out on the world from behind a face of considerable homeliness. His forehead was high and bulging; a pair of rimless glasses decorated his heavy nose. Soft-spoken, deliberate, inordinately shy, he seemed incongruous as the prophet of Roosevelt's virile nationalism. Strangers who had occasion to visit him often came away much bewildered by his manner. "If the visitor were himself at all difficult," Edmund Wilson relates, "he would be likely to find the conversation subsiding into a discontinuous series of remarks . . . to which Croly would utter responses more and more fragmentary and more and more imperfectly audible." In time the conversation would stop altogether; the air would become "taut with panic," while Croly sat "absolutely motionless, his eyes dropped on his hands, which would be clasped in his lap, his face . . . hostile and morose." After a "terrible silence," the visitor would try a few more random remarks; then, still meeting no response, he would leave, much perplexed by the personality of the man who had so important a reputation among progressives.

Devastating to the stranger, the passivity of Croly's manner affected all his works. Its reflection in his writing made his success as a publicist and journalist a triumph of mind over manner. The written word came for Croly as laboriously as the spoken. Constructing sentences long and tortuously involved, he piled phrase upon phrase, clause upon clause, until often he left his reader in a state of bemused exasperation. Words like "regeneration," "fulfillment," "human deliverance" clogged the flow of his sentence and rang strange echoes in the secular air of the 20th Century.

The New Republic inevitably took on something of the aura of Croly's strange impassivity. Editors and visitors to the magazine's staff lunches found themselves talking in low tones in deference to the editor's near-whisper. Francis Hackett, a founding editor, later described Croly as "settling like a stone crab in the middle of a lively company." Even the pages of the magazine bore the mark of Croly's manner. . . . "They give us sage advice with the air of people who have private information about the constitution of the universe," complained Harold Laski at a time when he was himself working for the magazine. "Their moral hyperboles grow at times nauseating." Critics less friendly than Laski found comfort in the epigram, "Crolier than thou."

The Role of the Elite

The impact of professors on students is inevitably haphazard and indefinable, but in the case of George Santayana a measure of direct influence on Croly is evident. Santayana was invoked in the last paragraph of *The Promise of American Life*, where Croly brought to a climax his plea for "constructive individualism" to spark a program of "national regeneration." Quoting Santayana's judgment that "if a noble and civilized democracy is to subsist, the common citizen must be something of a saint and something of a hero," Croly called upon his "exceptional fellow countrymen" to give the common citizen "acceptable examples of heroism and saintliness."

Croly's obligation to Santayana, however, went further than a borrowed phrase. Santayana thought the ideal social order would be "a government of men of merit" bound together by a patriotic ideal. He named his society, rather sardonically, a "socialistic aristocracy." Both Croly and Santayana wanted rule by a non-hereditary elite, an emphasis on motives of virtue and patriotism over those of profit, and a wide and even sharing of wealth. The power of their elite was to rest on excellent example rather than on riches or inherited privilege. Croly called the work of his elite "constructive individualism." He thought such leadership to be an answer to the "devil-take-the-hindmost" individualism of the Jeffersonians, whose narrow and selfish view of the individual had caused men not only to be "victimized . . . by unlimited economic competition," but, worse, had robbed even the winners in the struggle of "any value in their work . . . [except] its results in cash." Only some impulse beyond self-interest could bring the best from a man.

Oddly enough, when Croly finished describing his elite, it resembled nothing so much as that "natural aristocracy among men" that Thomas Jefferson once called "the most precious gift of nature, for the instruction, the trust, and government of society. . . ."

For all his rhetoric, Croly wanted not Nietzschean demigods of will and power, but instead humble, dedicated truly superior men of whom the "uncommon common man," Abraham Lincoln, became the prototype. Croly was asking for no mere man of action, no

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"man on horseback" to quash threats to middle-class tranquillity. When he called for a leader, "something of a saint and something of a hero," the emphasis invariably fell on "saint" and not on "hero. . . ." Again and again Croly measured politicians against the half-saint, half-hero image of Lincoln, and more often than not he found them wanting. When his work brought him close to men of power like Roosevelt or Wilson, he seemed to try to transcend his own oddly impassive intellectuality in a passionate plea for the President to lead, to provide inspiration and guidance for the legions of reform. Like his hero, Alexander Hamilton, Croly had an abiding faith in the powerful few. If only a minority of influential men could be made to see the promise of the new liberalism, Croly had little doubt that in time other Americans would follow.

The Practical Mystic

In his realistic measure of the forces then molding America's future Croly stands high as prophet. Yet he betrayed at times the tendency toward mystical excess also characteristic of prophets. An attack he made on the secret ballot, for instance, suggests a certain isolation from the saloons and smoke-stained rooms where the real work of the democracy he loved was carried on. And his disdain for the profit motive, however admirable, reflected the intellectual's remoteness from the mundane forces that move men, even the intellectuals.

These criticisms, however, might have come from Croly himself. The stern realism that made him believe in the creative potential of corporations, unions, political machines and battleships was no mere realism of acquiescence. Croly did long for a better world. He dreamed of an America where men might vote in the open, where they might value their work and their service to others more than mere personal gain. As a nationalist he thought patriotic sentiment might help inspire Americans toward such ends. Croly's "religion of humanity" like his cultural emphasis tempered the force of his nationalism. Nothing is more remarkable about *The Promise of American Life* than the things that are not there. Though Croly was not yet *au courant* with modern ideas about the equality of the races, his book betrayed none of the racism that has usually been part of 20th Century nationalism. Croly never fell afoul of such Aryan notions as those expressed by the "grass roots" democrat, William Allen White, who in *The Old Order Changeth* of 1910 ascribed American superiority to the greater purity of its racial strains over those of the "mongrel" populations of South America. Neither did Croly's nationalism involve any overweening worship of the state. The imperialism that was part of Croly's nationalism, furthermore, was (as far as such is possible) reasoned and moderate. He wanted to secure American interests in the Western Hemisphere through cooperative internationalism rather than through conquest. Finally, while Croly's love of country was strong, his pride of country was restrained. Though he denied that he wanted any mere "compromise . . . between individualism and socialism," he certainly had no sympathy for proletarian socialism. The appeal of "the most popular form of socialism" for an "international organization of a single class," he wrote, "is headed absolutely in the wrong direction." Nationalism, not class interest, was the force that would unite men for real reform. His largely cultural desire for a cohesive society made him abhor the Marxist acceptance of "revolutionary violence." While he believed that "revolutions . . . [might] at times be necessary and on the whole helpful," violence itself was too socially disruptive to be anything but the last resort of any political movement.

Yet, if Croly attacked socialism for promoting a "class interest" rather than the "national interest," how well did he meet his own disinterested standard? How much did *The Promise of American Life* merely reflect the interests of Croly's own middle class? Certainly Croly's desire for stronger unions reflected in part the ordinary middle-class fear of the violence that follows from repression. His reforms of both government and business, furthermore, would lead to the replacement of the reigning tycoons and bosses by respectable middle-class managers and politicians. The seeming squeeze of the middle-class by the very wealthy was to be relieved by the gradual expropriation of huge fortunes and the taxation of unearned corporate wealth, while the absence of an income tax would leave the vigorous middle-class businessman with few limits to his lifetime horizons. Finally, middle-class intellectuals like himself would gain enormously in status, for the social critic, said Croly, would " in a sense become the standard bearer of the whole movement. . . ."

Croly remained the aspiring mystic in his inner heart, however much he turned the face of the stern realist to the world. The softness inside tempted him to exaggerate the outer hardness. When discussing world peace, for instance, he could accept with remarkable equanimity the prospect that "the road to any permanent international settlement . . . [would] be piled mountain high with dead bodies." Yet here again Croly was merely accepting the reality that peace was something for which a nation might have to fight. The notion of waging war for peace involved, of course, difficulties both logical and practical, but the dilemma into which he plunged so confidently was hardly his alone. All America and most of the world has shared it for much of the 20th Century. Herbert Croly, who defined the problem sooner than most, was to suffer its heartbreaks more poignantly than most during the first of America's "wars to end war."

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Miss Mitford Among the Diplomats

by Honor Tracy

Lunacy at the Foreign Office is a deep-rooted, well-loved convention of English life and letters; and so when Miss Nancy Mitford replaces the English ambassador in Paris, who is a brilliant career diplomat, by Professor Alfred Wincham, incumbent of the Chair of Pastoral Theology at Oxford, we take it all easily in our stride. Beyond the fact that Alfred's lectures on pastoral theology (whatever that may be) make a lasting impression on those who hear them and that once a week he lunches with the Prime Minister alone, there is little to explain his appointment or reveal the nature of his qualification. We are not even told how his French is. During the war, it is true, he held a post of importance; but so, dear me! did any number of halfwits.

Don't Tell Alfred
by Nancy Mitford
(Harper; $3.95)

Thus the book gets away to a satisfying start and one by one the personae – some of them familiar from Miss Mitford's earlier novels – appear, auguring well. Lady Leone, the "most beautiful woman in the world" and the retiring ambassadress, cannot bring herself to retire. She leaves from the Gare du Nord in a flood of tears and a blaze of publicity but has the train stopped down the line and sneaks back to the rue du faubourg St. Honoré. Lying there surreptitiously in the *entresol* she privily holds her court and everyone in Paris who is anyone streams in to call, to the dismay of Fanny Wincham and the glee of Mr. Mockbar, a columnist. On Mockbar, always mean, always stupid, unfailingly wrong, and the awful paper he writes for, as well as on his master Lord Grumpy, Miss Mitford does a very pretty little job indeed.

There is glowing loving little Northey to remind us again how sure, how felicitous, is the Mitford touch with young people. This captivating *enfant terrible*, Fanny's niece and social secretary, blithely leaves her employer to type her own letters while she herself is off to a party in borrowed mink. Nothing will dissuade her from using the expression "bugger off" when she means "go away"; and when a Deputy gives the Ambassador a hamper of live lobsters as a treat, far from acknowledging them with effusive thanks she travels to Rouen, the point where the river Seine turns salt, and throws them back into the water. The hazards of employing this baggage may be further imagined by her reply to the Marquise de Valhubert over the telephone: " 'Hullo, who is it? Quelle horrible surprise! It's for you, an affected foreign voice,' she said loudly, handing the receiver to Philip."

Philip, who loves the Marquise, is about the only man in Paris who does not fall under Northey's spell. Even a baby *femme fatale* must be hard to portray; such is our fallen human nature that we have only to be told someone is irresistible to develop an immediate resistance. Thus Northey is a triumph, both as enchanting rosebud and original character. She is anything but "observed in depth" or "described in the round" and yet she is as real as Uncle Matthew or Davey Warbeck. The three young Etonians are the real thing too, detrimental and imaginative, worthy products of that great school.

Some of the other characters are, allowably, mere pegs on which to hang witty or wicked observation; for example, the Marquise herself, English wife of a French noble and far more French than any native could hope to be, and Dr. Jore, the American psychoanalyst, with his Pull-to-the-East theory of political aberration. Dear Dr. Jore, with his painstaking exploration of the obvious and fearless affirmation of the undeniable, apparently earned Miss Mitford a wigging in her own country from some of the Peevish Youngish Men of the New Establishment in British letters. Since Dr. Jore is a citizen of the United States, it seems to have been argued, Miss Mitford must be anti-American; and for some occult reason lucky old America is, for the time being anyhow, one of the few, disparate objects of the Peevish Young Men's approval.

We not infrequently hear of Miss Mitford as being under fire for one thing or another. She is frivolous, she is snobbish, why doesn't she write like this, dammit she ought to write like that. Dullards invariably mistake lightness for frivolity and snobbery is a favorite accusation of snobs. In fact Miss Mitford writes about the sort of people she was brought up with and knows best. The young men of the New Establishment do the same and are applauded for their arresting realism and newness. We flock to see, ably represented on the stage, individuals whom in the flesh we would spare no pains to avoid; and if we relied on the novels of the day for our information, we might suppose that England was largely peopled by grimy sexy drunken louts. Miss Mitford's characters are every bit as true to contemporary life, and much better company.

If I have a complaint, it is that the present novel is not perhaps light enough, that the balloon does not really get off the ground. Comic passages in serious work are helpful and even necessary to it, but serious touches in

"THE NATION'S YOUTH *are treating the Peace Corps as though it were a call to go to Africa for a mass sit-in. There is no doubting that genuine altruism is involved: a desire to help other people. What one cannot help but wonder is why American youth are so caught up in the enthusiasm for bringing electric dishwashers to the Angolese, while remaining so perennially indifferent to the idea of bringing freedom to the slaves of the Communist Empire.*"

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comedy all too often – in a phrase of Miss Mitford's own – are a cold spoon in the soufflé. If they are used at all they should be deeply pondered and strictly relevant. Here we find descriptions of the vanishing countryside, that leafy turreted mellow France of broad pasture and winding river, which make us hope Miss Mitford will devote a serious book entirely to it before it is gone. There are a few moving lines on an old age, provoked by the sight of the once redoubtable Uncle Matthew in the sere and yellow leaf: there are divagations on politics, motherhood, the rising generation, all perfectly sound in themselves, and some feminine ado about flower arrangement, dress, parties and the like.

As a cumulative effect of this, the soufflé does rather sink in the middle. For instance, one of the many things that Alfred must not be told is that the mob of thousands collected outside the Embassy and shouting (as he, his Government and the Press all believe) anti-British slogans in reference to a current dispute, thus giving him and his staff the chance for a display of unassuming English bravery, in fact were teenagers shrieking for a look at their idol, Yanky Fonzy. This repellent individual is a rock-and-roll singer, smuggled into the building by the Etonians, who have run away from school and are employed by Yanky as public relations men. It is a fine little frolic, but it calls for an imperturbable gravity in the telling, a suave, deadpan and zany assurance. It could have ranked with cosmic visions; but as things are, with that busy little spoon hard at work, it remains a mere funny episode.

And, *quelle horrible surprise!* Miss Mitford refuses, boggles and shies at, alas altogether funks, the Lady Leone gambit. A beautiful, clever and famous woman has installed herself in the house as a shadow-rival: Fanny, attractive, determined and nobody's fool, is quite resolved to get her out: are we not entitled to expect a resounding *bagarre* between these two formidable ladies or, at the very least, some idea of how Fanny Wincham won? Lady Leone merely stalks away into the night as incomprehensibly as she came. She makes a good exit, certainly, accompanied by Fanny's footmen bearing away the Embassy gramophone, but it is not enough: for loose ends belong in a diary, and not in a novel.

These, however, are but the few carping objections that an admirer may perhaps be allowed. Miss Mitford's difficult art at its best is so fine, so beautifully a-shimmer with wit and nonsense and gaiety, that it creates a standard of its own.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Honor Tracy *is an Anglo-Irish writer, best known in this country for her novel,* The Straight and Narrow Path. Charles Burton Marshall, *author of* The Limits of Foreign Policy *is a member of the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research.* Paul H. Douglas *is the Democratic United States Senator from Illinois.*

Paths Toward Coexistence

by Charles Burton Marshall

Some students of affairs within the Communist realm have tried to draw significant conclusions from textual differences discerned between the statement issuing from the November meeting in Moscow of Communist leaders from 81 countries and Premier Khrushchev's January 6 address to leaders of party organizations of the USSR. The nuances are supposed to reflect divisions between implacability and harshness on the one hand and a moderate line directed toward peaceable accommodation on the other.

Far more important, in my view, than the shadows of difference is their substance in common. The significant things voiced in unison are not novel. A pervading idea is the totality of the claim on the future asserted by Communists. The law underlying what is or is not rightful in their view is taken as a law of history, conceived of as ordaining the universal triumph of Communist interests and purposes. All other interests and purposes are regarded as deviant and illegitimate. The meaning of peace is limited to an ordering of affairs to further Communist ascendancy. Peaceful coexistence means a situation free of impediment to Communist expansion – besides being free of risk of general war. Those opposing that expansion are portrayed as warmongers courting danger by trying to thwart history and its laws, the cold war being thus totally their fault. Abating the cold war means not accommodation with but suppression or elimination of those disposed to stand in opposition to the Communist sweep. Disarmament is regarded as a weapon against them. By manipulation of relevant factors, they are to be forced to acquiesce in the Communist terms for disarmament; and these terms are designed to increase the vulnerability of adversaries and open the way for further Communist advances. Thus the discourses put the matter. Anyone scanning them must see this as a matter of simple fact.

How can one really negotiate without conceding legitimacy? How is it possible to come to reliable agreement with adversaries claiming a monopoly of legitimacy? These are vexing, dangerous core questions and there are many ways of not facing up to them. One way, of special appeal to those perennially disposed to wish for easy paths around difficulties is the proposition that the Communist leaders do not really believe in their own line.

To weigh this idea requires examining

A Forward Strategy for America
by Robert Strausz-Hupé
William R. Kintner, and
Stefan T. Possony
(Harper; $5.95)

The New Politics:
America and the End of the
Postwar World
by Edmund Stillman and William Pfaff
(Coward-McCann; $4)

A History of the Cold War
by John Lukacz
(Doubleday; $3.95)

Is Peaceful Coexistence Possible?
by Lord Lindsay of Birker
(Michigan State; $5)

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the phrase "believe in." It represents a mind's ascription of some quality to an object. In relation to dogma, for example, the phrase conveys an ascription of authority; to weather forecasts – probability; to the Ten Commandments – mandatoriness; to Judgment Day – inevitability; to Santa Claus – reality; and so on. What qualities – truth? desirability? authority? inevitability? efficacy? – are relevant to the query whether the Communists believe in their own line of discourse? The answer may vary from one to another among them, but at least and for certain they must believe in it in the sense of the last-named quality. They think that sooner or later it will take them where they want to go.

Where that is and what problems pose for us are dealt with earnestly in *A Forward Strategy for America*, a recent product of the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania.

The word of the authors – Robert Strausz-Hupé, William R. Kintner, and Stefan T. Possony – for their appraisal of the outlook is "grim." They recognize the "hostility of the Communists to any and all forces of order which they do not control." They urge the "need to accept wholeheartedly the fact that we are now in a total permanent struggle against a force unparalleled in history." Ahead lies "continued conflict along a wide spectrum." To be prepared for it is "the most prudent policy – and indeed the only safe policy." "The immediate prospect," in their view, "is for the continuation and intensification of the cold war." They see no likelihood of "fruitful negotiations on major issues" until – whenever that may be – "a meaningful change has occurred in the Soviet system."

I think they are right on a great many matters – for example, in regard to the supposed potential of the diplomatic function and our tendency toward "vastly overrating its importance and power" especially when the "penchant for compromise is one-sided." They express important doubts concerning present preoccupations in our policy with the United Nations. As they say, we seem to have talked ourselves into believing the UN can accomplish for us what we are unwilling or unable to do for ourselves. Most of all, the book is wise in facing squarely the issues posed by the Communist program of peaceful coexistence.

I am reluctant to score criticisms against a book so useful in many ways. Yet I must add that the authors are less successful in solving than in stating problems. The distinction between slogans and policies is sometimes blurred. It does little good to call for a "creative solution" for this or that, to inveigh against timidity, or to plead that policy be "harnessed to the pursuit of prudent measures." No issues are settled thus. Who advocates being uncreative or timid or imprudent? The authors haul out many of the tired old question-begging phrases of "psychological operations" as substitutes for policy. One can only wish they were as rigorous in appraising their own ideas as they are in analyzing the intentions of their adversaries.

Here is an example:

> "The United States can compete successfully in the market of ideas only *after* our policy-makers have made the decision to develop a long-range strategy for waging the conflict for the minds of man. . . . Once the decision has been made, we will find not only that we can identify ourselves with the aspirations of mankind but also that the aspirations of mankind are our own."

Thus the real problems of divergence dissolve in phrases of imaginary concord: let someone think up a total solution; and behold, we shall find ourselves attuned with the Israeli and the Arab, the German and the Pole, the Afghan and the Pakistani, the Tibetan and the Chinese, the Afrikaaner and the Black – all mankind!

A quite different line emerges in *The New Politics*. According to Edmund Stillman and William Pfaff – respectively a former Foreign Service Officer and now a New York lawyer, and a former correspondent in Asia and Africa and a former staff writer for *Commonweal* – the nation has responded altogether too much and too hopefully to too wide an array of problems basically beyond reach of solution. They want America to simmer down, to haul in its horns, and to take a more serene view of the confrontation with world Communism.

They refer to a "continuing irrationality in Soviet ideology and policy" and to the "obstinate ignorance with which the Soviets view history and politics." They recognize that up till now "it has been impossible to come to real terms with the Soviet leaders; like the crusader kings of Jerusalem and Antioch in an earlier age, they believe that an oath with an unbeliever is no oath at all."

Finding China more likely to be troublesome than the Soviet Union, they seem to ease into a conclusion that the latter is not likely to be troublesome at all, and they take comfort in a speculation that Mao's success has run athwart Russian national interest even more than athwart ours. They view the cold war as somehow easing off; the "old combat as ended," the antagonists in the confrontation overtaken by mutual frustration as significant new centers of power emerge. They contend that "more and more, the Soviet political dream for the world takes on a traditional look; the Russians are inclined to seek less the *fata morgana* of universal empire than an influence and a respect in world affairs which, they conceive, is in keeping with industrial and technological progress." It would be nice to have more than their assurance to go on.

The authors find it "difficult to believe that the ordinary Russian is any longer much concerned for the ideological well-being of Afro-Asia or Latin America except in the vague sense that Americans assert that the world someday must share the American dream." Here by implication – I

"PRINCIPLE I: No ironies are worth writing about unless they have gone unnoticed by all or most previous readers.
COROLLARY I: The most artistic ironists are those who deceive the most readers."

—from "Ironology," by Wayne Booth, in the Spring issue of THE CARLETON MISCELLANY. Other contributors: Arthur Mizener, Howard Nemerov, John Dos Passos, Thom Gunn, Barry Spacks.

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find it dubious – the outlook of "the ordinary Russian" is taken to be the determinant of Soviet policy. Has it ever been so?

In his *History of the Cold War*, John Lukacs, lately of Hungary, now a teacher in two Catholic colleges in Philadelphia, puts the present scene in long perspective. His world view is Europe-centered, with particular focus on Germany, whose strategic position is seen as the central consideration in world politics. A process of history centuries long brought the United States and Russia, with their "differing conceptions of the world" and "hostile ideas about each other," face to face in Germany. Position and confrontation count for vastly more in his analysis than clashes of ideology. "The cause of the deplorable division of Europe was not Communist," he writes, "but the Second World War, in which the nations tore each other apart and from which Russia was to profit by external and military conquest." "The greatest danger to the West" he sees as "not so much the idea of Communism" but "the great power of a potentially aggressive Russia," China's growing power, and above all "the fact that Russian armies are stationed in the middle of Europe."

Lukacs writes not so much to prescribe solutions as to lend perspectives. He does it so well – with such natural urbanity – that one is charmed even when not convinced. I suspect Lukacs far underplays the ideological factor in the current world situation. For instance, he does not face up adequately to the implications of a point emphasized earlier in this review – namely, the impediment to settlement inhering in the adversaries' disposition to deny legitimacy to everything outside their own aim and interest. Yet I find this a highly rewarding book – in part because its reaffirms the importance of Europe in the stakes of world politics in comparison to the emerging states of Africa and Asia and because it reminds one how much of the past has not been repealed. "The history of nations is still more important than the history of technology.... Waterloo and Sedan were more important events than the invention of the steam locomotive or the phonograph; in 1945 the defeat of Germany and Japan were still more important events than the Bomb; and in recent years the Hungarian Revolution was a more important event than the firing of Sputniks."

"Feasible" might be a preferable final word in the title of Lord Lindsay's *Is Peaceful Co-Existence Possible?* The situation referred to is not the "intense, economic, political and ideological struggle" on terms even more favorable for Communism – Khrushchev's version of peaceful coexistence, the *possibility* of which is scarcely open to question. Lord Lindsay's query is about the probable chances of achieving a situation of mutual trust and accommodation between the present great antagonists. It is written in low key, raising questions and drawing upon a considerable close-up knowledge of Communist ways and attitudes.

"What many Communists really want," he says, "is probably the ideal world of Communist theory in which there is no contradiction between wanting the indefinite expansion of Communist power." When one presses the question even with Communists apparently subjectively devoted to peace, he adds, "it becomes clear that they have a strong emotionally charged inhibition against facing the possibility that peace can only be obtained by modifications in Communist policy which would imply a modification of the orthodox Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation." The answer to whether "they want peace in the real world which differs considerably from the Marxist-Leninism model" depends on "what Communists would decide if they faced a choice which they have so far always tried to evade because, according to their theories, the choice should not exist."

Lord Lindsay – he teaches now at American University – has no doubt of Communists' belief in their own ideological line and of the importance of that belief as a factor in current world politics. According to it, only their adversaries will face a dilemma between yielding on their purposes and enduring an unlimited confrontation involving risk of war. He suggests a strategy to "increase the pressure on Communists to make the choice of whether or not they are willing to cooperate for peace in the real world. ... If they still refuse, the strategy produces more and more evidence to show that, so long as the Communist position remains unchanged, the rest of the world can only maintain peace through a balance of power equilibrium" – which is about where *A Forward Strategy for America* picks up.

Middle-Western Wisdom

by Paul H. Douglas

Leo Lerner is the editor and publisher of a chain of twenty successful community newspapers on the Northwest side of Chicago. For these papers he writes a mellow weekly column which is one of our nation's best. No foible nor false posture – whether local or national – escapes his sharp eye or his nimble wit and learning. For a half million Chicagoans, he performs much the same function as Harry Golden does in the South – although to a much larger local audience.

The Italics Are Mine
By Leo A. Lerner
(Open Court; $5.00)

This book collects approximately a hundred of Lerner's best pieces during the last four years, and they are fascinating. Whether he is writing on the education of Sherman Adams, Ivan Albright's "That Which I Should Have Done, I Did Not Do," or lake diversion, Governor Faubus, or censorship, Lerner is the very model of the thoughtful, urbane liberal mind. And mixed in with his comments on men and affairs are the changing sketches of life during weekends on a Wisconsin farm with the burgeoning of spring, the austerity of winter and the fancied ruminations of his dog Caliph.

These essays are a welcome relief from the stereotyped editorials in our increasingly uninteresting newspapers and the all too strident Phillippics of most national columnists. They are good reading.

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JULES FEIFFER

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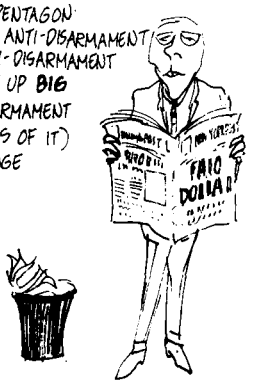

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MOVIES

Arrival of an Artist

At last. Michelangelo Antonioni is an Italian director who has just made his seventh film and who is so highly esteemed abroad that there has already been an Antonioni Festival in London.

L'Avventura (The Adventure)
(Janus)

For the eleven years of his career no Antonioni film has been released here. Now at last comes *L'Avventura*, which is the sixth of his works.

The first ten minutes make it clear that this is the work of a discerning, troubled, uniquely gifted artist who speaks to us through the refined center of his art. We may even "like" this film, but those first ten minutes indicate that liking it is not the primary point. We "like" Maurice Chevalier, but do we "like" *Wozzeck* or *No Exit*? If so, all the better, but we know from the start that it is irrelevant to their effective being.

This is not to say that *L'Avventura* is an unpleasant or uninteresting experience: simply that it does not come out of the wings like a chorus girl with a grin on her face to make a hit fast.

The setting is contemporary Italy. Anna, a wealthy Roman girl, is having an affair with Sandro, a fortyish architect. They go off on a yachting weekend – together with Claudia, a close friend of Anna's – as guests of a dissolute princess. The party lands on a small island north of Sicily to bathe, and Anna, who has been moody and depressed, disappears. The island is searched without success; Claudia and Sandro stay overnight with a shepherd while the others go for the police.

And now the focus shifts. As in *Madame Bovary* (for example), we see that the prominent figure of the opening has been used merely to take us to the heart of the situation and, having delivered us, recedes. We never see Anna again. Sandro has increasingly to force himself to look distraught and to search; Claudia is increasingly disturbed because her genuine anxiety for her friend is being elbowed by her latent desire for Sandro and her subconscious realization that now she can have him. Before they have left the island – less than twenty-four hours later – Sandro has kissed her and has made her realize that she is glad of Anna's disappearance.

However, motions must still be gone through. They all go to Sicily following a sketchy clue that Anna may have fled with some fishermen, and Sandro, accompanied by Claudia, spends some days in more and more desultory search. During the search Sandro and Claudia become lovers, and criss-cross the path of the pleasure-seeking princess and her party as they make their way to the south of Sicily. The film ends in a palatial hotel in Taormina; Sandro has already been unfaithful to Claudia and she has already forgiven him. Or rather she accepts what they must accept in order not to spend all of life in tears, fights, futile beating against the facts of their natures and the moral temper of their time. They settle for what they are.

Over this slow, divagating search for the lost girl, which is really Claudia's discovery of herself, Antonioni hovers with his camera: peering, following, lingering to savor a place after the people have left it. He is more interested in personality, mood, and the physical world than in drama; and it is this – if we apply conventional standards – that at times makes his picture seem to have lost its way. But Antonioni is trying to exploit the unique powers of the film as distinct from the theater. Many superb film directors (like De Sica) are oriented theatrically; Antonioni is not. He attempts to get from film the same utility of the medium itself as a novelist whose point is not story but mood and character and for whom the texture of the prose works as much as what he says in the prose.

By purely theatrical standards, this film could easily be condensed by any skilled cutter – the search on the island, the visit to the deserted town, the kisses of Sandro and Claudia in the field. But when it is all over, you see that this condensation would sharpen the pace at the expense of the purpose. Antonioni wants the discoveries of this pair to occur in something more like real time than theatrical time. Obviously it is not real time or we would all have to bring along sandwiches and blankets; but a difference of ten seconds in a scene is a tremendous step towards veristic reproduction rather than theatrical abstraction.

The story is Antonioni's. The theme is upper-middle-class morality – not low enough to be corseted by suburban respectability, not high enough to be subject to *noblesse oblige*. These are Chekhov's people, in Italy today; and, like Chekhov's people, we see them over-ripening before they drop. It is no accident that much of this film takes its indolent way across Sicily (Danilo Dolci's Sicily! – with disease and rooted poverty screaming just off-stage). It is an important part of the design that Sandro is disgusted with his professional success, which has betrayed his youthful plans. In profligate harmony with Sandro's resolve to get as much mundane compensation as he can there are the princess and her *ami*, who wearily puts his hand in her bodice to flatter himself and her; and the frantic wife of a jaded husband hungrily devouring a 19-year-old admirer.

It is part of this design that makes Sandro spill ink on a young artist's sketch, deliberately hurting this reminder of his own youth in order to provoke a fight, then hurrying back to the hotel to make love with Claudia in order to substitute a little of the present for the lost past.

I wish that a few loose threads had been omitted (the mysterious boat we never see, the hint that the smugglers know where Anna is). And I wish there were room to expand on fine touches like the blaring sound-truck whose popular song carries us and the immanence of contemporary vulgarity into Claudia's bedroom; and to do more than note the beautiful melancholy of Lea Massari (Anna), the sense of life in a sexual ambience conveyed by Monica Vitti (Claudia), the credible but slightly shallow resignation of Gabriele Ferzetti (Sandro).

In this film Antonioni stands quite apart from the Italian neo-realists. He

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does not try to show life "as it is" but as he sees it. In the sense that his films are intensely personal in viewpoint and style and poetic rather than naturalistic, he is more comparable to Bergman than to his fellow-Italians. But there is a great difference. The fountainhead of Bergman's films is mysticism: is the God-man relation still viable? Antonioni seems to have answered that question in the negative; thinks men have to learn self-reliance or crumble; is hoping for the possibility of hope. Stanley Kauffmann

ART

The Collection that Argyrol Bought

While there is still a certain amount of status to be sought and found in the fact, let me record that I was there, in the ships and the fighting, or, contrariwise, I, too, have lived in Arcadia – in short, I was on hand on the chill, bright morning of March 18 when the gates of the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Pa., finally creaked open and the saints went marching in.

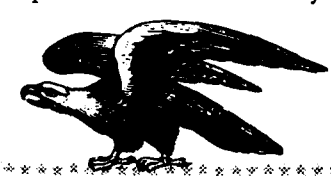
I was of the number. We were led, the press, almost by the hand by Pennsylvania's delightful and determined Attorney General, Anne X. Alpern. Miss Alpern had led, and won, the last phase of the battle that began with Dr. Barnes' death in 1951, and this was her day. The issues in the ten-year fight were fairly simple. Barnes, the millionaire inventor of Argyrol, from about 1903 on was a great collector of Impressionistic-and-later painting. He was also something of an eccentric and all his life long apparently took enormous pleasure in locking the damn things up and not letting anyone come and see them. Well, we live in a society more or less based on private property and he was entitled. When he died, however, the question of taxes arose, as it always does, and the Barnes Foundation, a kind of art appreciation school with about 200 students, took the position that as a non-profit, educational institution, it was entitled to pay no taxes on the whopping collection of better than a thousand paintings, currently estimated to be worth somewhere between $100 million and half a billion. A taxpayer in adjoining Philadelphia and presently the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania took the position that if the Foundation was a public institution, it had better be open to the public. Over the years the legal minuet performed by the Foundation was quite impressive, but eventually Miss Alpern got a court order from, interestingly enough, the Orphans Court of Philadelphia, and on that Saturday – as she pointed out, the "day after St. Patrick's Day" – led press and public in to see the pictures. It was a great day for the Irish.

Inside, it was more Greek. Mrs. Barnes, the 86-year-old widow of the doctor, sat the whole day on a bench in the main gallery, attended by lawyers and Pinkerton men, students of the Foundation and the Merion press, all apparently waiting for the Visigoths to start hacking away at the paintings. On the other side of the gallery, framed in a vast window enclosure, stood the Attorney General, attended by a corporal of the state police and absolutely hugging herself. It was Cassandra and Nike, not quite face to face.

The Pinkertons, an old Pennsylvania tradition, were at your elbow every time you turned around. On the grounds that the fire resistant building has no fire-escape – and hasn't been able to get one a good four months after being ordered to – the second floor galleries only admitted three visitors at a time and no press privilege; upstairs you had your own personal Pinkerton who kept a sharp eye on anyone likely to make off with the Matisse murals.

The collection is built around Renoir, of whom there are nearly 200 examples. Every period is represented and it is possible to review the whole achievement as you wander through the rooms, dazed by the sheer profusion. For Barnes hung his pictures in a way that went out of style decades ago and was only recently revived by Alfred Barr shortly before the Museum of Modern Art opened its Art Nouveau show. The paintings are all but frame to frame and they're piled up on the walls in solid blocks or in great pyramids. Oddly, this does not wear you out as much as the same amount of art could if conventionally hung.

You get the impression – I did at any rate – that Barnes roamed forward and backward from Renoir chiefly to exhibit the special charms of his favorite artist. The collection has a handful of assorted Old Masters: Bosch, Cranach, Tintoretto, Veronese and four excellent religious works by El Greco. There is a lot of Cézanne, a lot of Matisse, a lot of Picasso. Plus a cast of thousands. Well, sooner or later every painter in the collection is brought into conjunction with Renoir. The comparative hanging has nothing at all to do with conventional notions of scholarship. Barnes hung in order to make points about painting. You could say that he was fighting the paintings, trying to impose upon them an order strictly his



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own, although some of the walls do betray a kind of overall repetition of some movement established by one of the pictures.

That's pretty abstract. Here's how it works on one wall: The main picture on the wall is a medium sized pastel by Degas; two nudes are reclining on the grass, their limbs more or less intertwined. Another girl stands between them and you, her legs loosely repeating vertically the diagonal pattern of the two on the ground; her torso, however, is dramatically cut off by the frame. There's the pattern. Above the Degas, Barnes hung a small picture, thickly painted in a kind of imitation expressionist style by Settani. The subject is a woman in a hammock and, as you look, you perceive that the folds and shadows of the hammock are picking up the Degas business with the legs and bodies of the girls.

In the long run, though, the art wins; Barnes loses to Seurat and Cézanne just as he did to Miss Alpern. The great Seurat in the collection is the "Poseuses," the one important painting missing from the big Seurat show at Chicago and the Modern a few years back. The three girls stand and sit in a studio corner, a classic balance in their postures and positions, with practically no space at all between them and you, them and the walls. But on one wall is the "Grande Jatte," here painted over again by Seurat as a studio prop; through it space opens endlessly down that avenue of trees.

The Matisse murals are pretty special, too. They occupy three large lunettes in the main gallery and are not really too clear from the floor. When you finally get upstairs, though, you see them fine walking along an open passage with arches. The subject – which, by the way, is true of an awful lot of paintings in the collection – is nubile girls without any clothes on. Matisse has done this in great sweeping lines, flowing curves of breast and buttock, elbow and knee, all on a monumental scale, all the figures in a gray-white against pink, blue, black areas. These rolling, leaping girls play their forms against the forms of the lunettes in which they are set; and girls and lunettes both do the in-and-out stuff with the arches on the balcony through which you are seeing the ensemble as you walk along. It's all very well to say this is decorative, ugh; perhaps it is, but what decoration!

But don't just sit there. Go see for yourself. It's going to be there a long time and the Commonwealth now forces the admission of 200 visitors every Friday, 200 more every Saturday. On each day 100 are first-come-first-served, the rest by appointment. Merion is a suburb on the city line, the Foundation is half a block off US 1. The telephone number is MOhawk 7-0290. It's best to write and/or call in advance.

FRANK GETLEIN

RECORDS

A Legacy in Danger

When Toscanini retired in 1954, David Sarnoff wrote him that his recordings had preserved his performances for posterity. But last year RCA Victor withdrew the superb Toscanini recordings of Berlioz's *Harold in Italy* and Strauss' *Don Quixote* that it had issued only four years earlier; and it is foreseeable that Victor will withdraw other Toscanini recordings that aren't selling in the quantities Victor considers sufficient to justify continuing them. Their sales have dropped because most of the public doesn't buy the recordings of anyone who isn't currently active and to whom its interest isn't directed by the various forms of publicity about his activities, and a part of the public will not buy recordings which don't offer the latest in recorded sound. For this part Victor has subjected the original monophonic tapes of several Toscanini recordings to what it calls "electronic stereo reprocessing" to make them sound like stereophonic recordings; and remembering Victor's earlier electronic "enhancement" of Tocanini recordings, I began to listen to the newly reprocessed Dvorak *New World* Symphony on LME-2408 with considerable apprehensiveness. But what I heard was quite different from the blurring, the blowzy and confused "brilliance" of the earlier "enhanced" Debussy *La Mer:* the sound from LME-2408 has a brightness, luminosity and spread in resonant space that the original sound from LM-1778 didn't have; it lacks the solidity that the original did have; but although it isn't the true recorded sound of the Toscanini performance it is, considered by and for itself, good sound. I therefore recomment LME-2408 to those who insist on hearing something like stereophonic sound, adding the suggestion to cut down treble and step up bass; but I advise those interested in the true sound and impact of the Toscanini performance to stick to LM-1778. And I make the same report about LME-2409, with its reprocessed versions of the Respighi *Fountains of Rome* and *Pines of Rome* originally issued on LM-1768, mentioning in addition that the reprocessed *Pines* cuts down the volume of the original in climaxes and the final crescendo. But LME-2410 I advise against: the monophonic Musorgsky *Pictures at an Exhibition* was issued on LM-1838 "enhanced" by an extreme peaking of treble that coarsened and distorted the beautiful sound from the original tape; and the reprocessing has made the sound worse with, among other things, too much artificial resonance. I advise playing even LM-1838 with treble cut down.

The effect of Schubert's great song cycle *Die schoene Muellerin* is the cumulative one of a progression which begins rather unimpressively but builds up to the powerful *Die liebe Farbe* and then to the quietly overwhelming conclusion of *Des Baches Wiegenlied.* London 5581 (mono) and OS-25155 (stereo) offer a performance made outstanding by the tenor Peter Pears' sensitive inflection of a voice no longer fresh but agreeable, steady and flexible, and by the perceptive playing of the piano parts with which Benjamin Britten supports the singing. The record comes without the German texts, for which the English summaries are not an adequate substitute.

Another great song cycle, Schumann's

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Dichterliebe, to whose effect the more developed writing for the piano makes a more important contribution, is on Epic LC-3747 (mono) and BC-1110 (stereo). Again we hear sensitive inflection of an agreeable and flexible voice, this time by the baritone Gerard Souzay, with playing by Danton Baldwin that is a little too discreet. And to those who don't insist on the latest recording I suggest instead the earlier performance on Decca DL-9930, with the young Fischer-Dieskau's extraordinarily expressive use of his beautiful voice and with playing by Joerg Demus that is extraordinary too in its expressive point and its close working with the singing. The Souzay record also has Schumann's *Widmung* and *Die beiden Grenadiere,* and the unfamiliar *Sechs Gedichte* and *Requiem* Op. 90, which I find uninteresting. With German texts.

And Columbia M2L-255 (mono) and M2S-617 (stereo) offer another excellent performance of Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde,* this one by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic, Mildred Miller, mezzo-soprano, and Ernst Haefliger, tenor. Miller also sings Mahler's *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* with Walter and an unidentified recording orchestra.

The remarkable soprano Joan Sutherland, who contributed a superb Donna Anna to the Angel *Don Giovanni,* offers a performance of "Martern aller Arten" from Mozart's *Seraglio* that amazes one as usual with the ease, accuracy and tonal brilliance of its execution of florid passages. With it, on London A-4241 (mono) and OSA-1214 (stereo), are similarly impressive performances of the great "Casta diva" from Bellini's *Norma,* the charming "Son vergin vezzosa" and beautiful "Qui la voce" from his *I Puritani,* the "Ah, fors' è lui" and "Sempre libera" from Verdi's *La Traviata,* a number of other famous pieces from lesser works, and on the other hand the lovely Willow Song from Verdi's *Otello.* Molinari-Prandelli conducts the orchestra and chorus of Covent Garden.

The "Qui la voce" and *Traviata* pieces are also among the coloratura arias sung by Anno Moffo on Angel 35861 (mono) and S-35861 (stereo). Her voice is lovelier than Sutherland's; but she doesn't achieve Sutherland's authority in her delivery of "Qui la voce"; and in her slow tempo "Sempre libera" hasn't the feverish excitement it should have. Colin Davis conducts the Philharmonia; texts are given.

B. H. Haggin

TELEVISION

The Presidential Image

There is a column one might write about what television has done for President Kennedy. One would cite the importance of the debates with Nixon and the confrontation with the Texas ministers. One would recall the excitement of the nightly newscasts during the lame-duck period – the announcement of cabinet appointments and all that – when the "let's get moving" theme was turned into a national mood. One would recall the inauguration ceremonies when the camera cruelly exposed the tiredness of the generation stepping down and pointed up not Kennedy's "immaturity" but his vigor.

Finally, one would have to acknowledge that for all their failings the President's press conferences have helped Mr. Kennedy establish himself during his first months of office as an awesomely and stupendously well-informed Chief Executive.

The criticisms one might feel obliged to make of the press conferences would go this way: they are not quite what they pretend to be, a televised version of the traditional meeting of the President and the press, nor are they adequately what they tend to be – and one suspects Mr. Kennedy would like them to be – a report to the people.

Because of the sheer size and formality of the conferences, no reporter has a chance to follow through on any of the numerous subjects brought up.

DISSENT

The current issue includes:

On America:

After the Elections
—Michael Walzer

On Cuba:

Two Sides of Castro's Cuba
A review of Wright Mills' "Listen, Yankee"
—Daniel M. Friedenberg

On England:

John P. Roche and Norman Birnbaum disputes the future of the British Labour Party

On India:

Return to India, 1960
—Stanley Plastrik

On France:

A Nation in Agony
—Letter from Paris

Other articles and reviews by Henry Pachter, Lewis Coser, Herbert Marcuse, David Spitz, David Sachs, etc.

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There is something of the touch-football spirit about the game the President has been playing with the press – no body contact, no real scrimmaging, only tagging. Time after time, Mr. Kennedy suggests a line of thought that cries out for further development, but then the subject is dropped and a new one introduced by the next reporter, who usually seems not to have heard anything that has already been said.

There is talk now of the President's re-instituting the fireside chat. But Mr. Kennedy is not a chatty man, and those who look forward to a repetition of Franklin D. Roosevelt's radio success may be in for a disappointment. Television, with its intimacy and immediacy, is not just radio with pictures. Mr. Kennedy is at his best in the give-and-take of intelligent conversation. Using that format, he might make his most effective appeals to the nation, for with the President even more than with most political figures the style is the man. His advisors, when they put such great emphasis on the television press conferences, may have counted on this ability of his to engage and be engaged by other good minds. What they apparently did not count on was the mediocrity of so many of the reporters who would show up. Nor could they have counted on the triviality of most of the questions. Nor did they give sufficient consideration to the fact that the presence of television cameras would lend the press conference a vaguely theatrical character.

But one would like to end on a positive note: Why not restore the press conference to its old semi-privacy and save television for genuine reports to the nation? Since Mr. Kennedy does so well with give-and-take, why not employ the nation's top political commentators and journalists to represent the people in regular confrontations with the Chief Executive? If it is part of the President's duties to take on the whole lot who show up for press conferences, the girl reporters who are primarily interested in Jackie's hairdo as well as the Restons and Lippmanns, let him do his duty – but no need to tie up the networks or endanger himself by overexposure in doing it. Let the press conference be one thing; the "selling" of his program and report to the nation another.

Now all this is how one might go about writing a column on what television has done and can still do for John F. Kennedy. But this was supposed to be a different column: what television should *not* do to John F. Kennedy. It was provoked by the recent ABC Closeup program called "Adventures on the New Frontier."

"Adventures on the New Frontier," the announcer said, would take us right into the White House so we could see what life is like these days at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. We were promised that we would see the President at work and learn at first hand how government really operates. It was a kind of televised version of "What Is Jack Kennedy Really Like?"

If you saw the program, you will understand why I think the networks may yet turn the glamorous JFK into the nation's number one bore. For after all those promises of how we were going to see him in action, he simply did not act. He stood around, sat around, walked around, stared out the window, and carried on a series of meaningless conversations – meaningless to us anyway. There were shadowy views of his staff moving in and out – "That's all right, Ted." What was all right? We never found out. There was an abortive glimpse of a meeting with Arthur Goldberg and a group of visitors. At one point he autographed photographs for relatives. When a group of military brass came in, did he talk about the Laotian crisis? All we heard were a few fleeting phrases about the President's desk; it was made of wood from an old British warship. At one point the President walked over to a television set to listen to Chet Huntley's newscast but quickly turned the off switch. Then, the back to the camera again; more staring out the window.

After the announcer's buildup, all we, the viewing audience, could conclude was that Mr. Kennedy's days must be largely taken up with this restless pacpacing up and down and staring, and with endless trivialities.

This was the second of these President-at-work programs I have watched. The genre that should be quickly disestablished because it is as phony as any At Home With Marilyn features that ever appeared in a fan magazine. Clearly, with the cameras and the eyes of the world on him, the President is

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not going to say anything that has any real relationship to his job. Of necessity, what the President says to his cabinet members and what they say to him, his instructions to his staff and their reports to him, his conference with military leaders and the briefings he receives from Congressional figures can not be broadcast to the world. Inevitably, and sensibly, anything of real significance or importance that mistakenly gets on file will be edited out. An audience primed for something big to happen feels cheated and resentful when nothing does. Mr. Kennedy's television appearances in the role of a man who has nothing much to do with his time but look out the window and tell Ted to go ahead have already become tiresome. If there are many more of them, he will become tiresome, too. JOHN COGLEY

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

The Conscience of Barry Goldwater

Sirs:

Mr. Harrison's propitious article on Senator Goldwater (March 27) comes at a time when certain national magazines, (notably *Time*, February 10 and March 10, and *National Review* regularly), are creating the inaccurate impression of the whole college generation making an enormous swing to the Right. This supposed trend to conservatism is not nearly so widespread as recent articles would lead us to believe. Undoubtedly there are campus Conservative Clubs flourishing, and many more than 15 years ago. Goldwater *is* in heavy demand as a speaker. But these are examples of the undeniable conservative atmosphere in the United States in the post-World War II period. Conservative the atmosphere is – yes; but not 19th Century. Goldwater's popularity is at best superficial. And, as a member of the college generation, I believe I can say with certainty that this popularity is neither as prevalent nor as strong as we are currently being told. Scores of students with whom I have talked regard *The Conscience of a Conservative* as a sad example of the very floundering of leadership in the Republican party of which Goldwater speaks.

The liberal position changes and Kennedy's is not that of either the New Deal or the Fair Deal. All the liberal programs of this century have built upon and been outgrowths of (to some degree at least) their predecessors. While there are imperfections in any human system, these, despite word to the contrary, seem more reasonable to innumerable college students today than Goldwater's attempt to call back the world of McKinley.

Grant Morrison
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Sirs:

Mr. Harrison, in his excellent article on Barry Goldwater, expressed some bewilderment as to the reasons for the recent excrescence of conservatism among college students. Here at the University of Texas one reason seems obvious. The earnest young men who will one day invoke the spirit of Free Enterprise from the floor of the legislature and excoriate the Welfare State before thousands of edified women's clubs, are feeling uncomfortable – even (may I use the word?) – guilty. Despite the social stigma the radicals are incurring, they are doing something significant, and are somehow better men and women because of it. Aching to show the community (and his future constituents) that he, too, is a man of courage, the Goldwaterite has assumed the façade of a man of action (after all, reaction is action, of sorts) and is thoroughly convincing himself that he is a rebel, a fighter, an individualist.

There are, of course, certain rules for the game of Campus Conservatism which must be adhered to. Briefly stated, they are these:

(1) The revolutionary manifesto one nails to the dean's door must reflect the opinion of 85 percent of the community, and 95 percent of the staff of *The National Review*. (It will, as a matter of fact, reflect the opinion of the dean, and any recrimination resulting from the manifesto will concern the nail scars on the door.)

(2) The causes which one espouses

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must have been dead issues for at least the past thirty years.

(3) Except when no other recourse is left, no public debate or polemics with a radical should ensue.

(4) One should be well-groomed and have a clean record.

(5) This is extremely important at the University of Texas: One must express sympathy for the Negro's plight, speak out strongly for individual freedom, and in an extremely tolerant and even slightly reprimanding voice, add that the merchant, we must not forget, is an individual too, and is entitled to equality as much as the often inconsiderate and often overbearing Negro. There is, perhaps, even ground (one must conclude) for asserting that the merchant is entitled to *more* equality. The Young Republicans at the University have in fact included in their civil rights platform a clause making explicit the merchant's rights, which are usually trampled upon by "visionary" integrationists.

Chandler Davidson
Austin, Texas

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Intellectual Slums

Sirs:

Your March 27 editorial on "educational slums," etc., raises many serious problems, and deserves much admiration; but unfortunately it suggests that the writer has not thoroughly realized that "educational assembly-plants" are no better (and probably worse) for students than educational slums.

The writer reports it as a source of hope that colleges now will bid higher for PhD's. But surely anyone who knows the academic world must know that in most graduate departments nowadays the PhD trains people (1) away from interest in teaching and (2) towards ever narrower interests. Of course, this is not true of all its possessors; but I will bet that I can staff undergraduate institutions with men better equipped to teach and with wider cultural and philosophical concerns by refusing to take PhD's than by insisting on them. (This may not be true in the *biological* sciences, but is in most departments.) One might add that there are even departments where the PhD candidate is systematically oriented to despise every characteristic of a good undergraduate teacher. (Naturally, and fortunately, a good many people survive the process without permanent injury; and there are a few graduate departments which are concerned with producing teachers.)

This is an important point to make because any 10 or a dozen presidents who so choose can make their colleges first-rate by disregarding the PhD (just as in another area I believe the Guggenheim Foundation does) *and* because the educational slum which tries to raise itself by getting PhD's is likely to get pedagogues, educational mechanics, who do even more disservice to serious education than those it previously employed.

Lewis A. Dexter, PhD
Belmont, Mass.

Sirs:

As a student who is heading for graduate school at one of the name schools in the East next year after spending four years in an "underdeveloped college," I was very impressed with your article "Intellectual Slums" (March 27). However, it seems to me that you have overlooked the National Defense Education Act Fellowships which are awarded to universities which are offering expanded or new programs for graduate study. Under the NDEA the awards are given to the student for study in a school which offers the new or expanded program. Most of this money goes to the "underdeveloped" universities. These awards are very handsome and, speaking from personal experience, provide considerable attraction to attend to less well-known schools, especially to a student who is forced to depend upon fellowship assistance in order to complete his schooling.

Kenneth A. Megill
University of Kansas

Sirs:

. . . My only criticism is that the term "Intellectual Slums" is an over-harsh one. The most stimulating teaching and the most rewarding student-teacher relationship is often found at a so-called B-grade institution. A university which is struggling to become financially and professionally well-endowed offers many opportunities to the interested student. These institutions, upon which fall a major burden of education, need to be helped and encouraged.

Phyllis Porter
Berkeley, California

Marriage and Morals

Sirs:

John Kearney suggests that the Catholic Church teaches that the use of artificial contraceptives intended to frustrate the primary purpose of the marriage act is immoral. It is not improper to frustrate the purpose of the marriage act by *intentionally* abstaining. Such intentional abstention from the marriage act is not an "artificial . . . practice intended to frustrate the primary purpose . . ." for abstention from the "marriage act" is completely natural to the married state. The depth of the problem as far as the Church is concerned is plumbed only by the depth of its perception of natural law. Experience has shown the impossibility of effectively controlling population growth by abstention; however, the Church, I take it, is not in this instance arguing against control, only against effective control.

Melvyn B. Fliegel
Cambridge, Mass.

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